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पुस्तकालय

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पुस्तक संख्या A5J
आगत पंजिका संख्या V. XV. P. 1-4
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Vol XV] NOV., 1957—FEBRUARY, 1958 [Parts 1—2

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
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Vol. XV] NOV., 1957—FEBRUARY, 1958 [Parts 1—2

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OF THE
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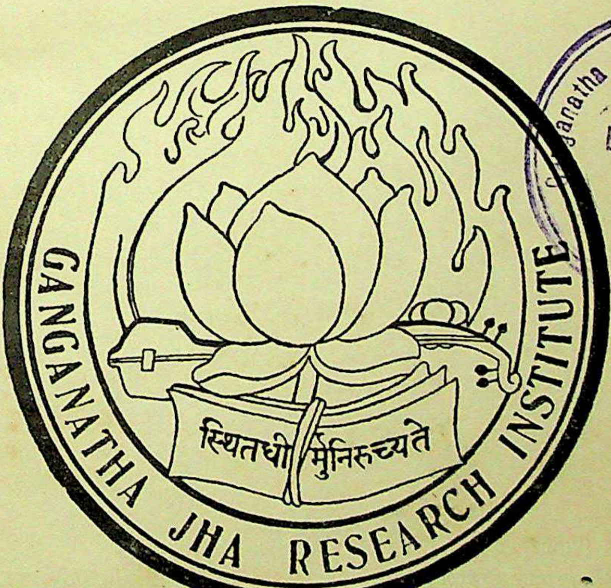
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Published by
The Honorary Secretary,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Allahabad

Printed by P. L. Yadava
at The Indian Press (Private) Ltd.
Allahabad

Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
1943
Allahabad.

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XV

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Estd. NOV. 1943
Allahabad

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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पुस्तक संख्या 101-48
आगत A.J.
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गुरुकुल पुस्तकालय कांगड़ी.

V. XV
Pt I-4

Published by
The Honorary Secretary,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Allahabad

Printed by P. L. Yadava
at The Indian Press (Private) Ltd.
Allahabad

JOURNAL

OF THE

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Allahabad

JOURNAL
OF THE
GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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GAṄGEṢA'S TREATMENT OF GENERAL-NON-EXISTENCE (SĀMĀNYĀBHĀVAḤ)

By Dr. Tarasankar Bhattacharya*

Gaṅgeśa's concluding definition of Vyāpti is the co-existence of the hetu with the sādhya which is not determined by the determinant of the negatum which is absolutely negated in the locus of the hetu[1]. But objection may be raised against this definition on the following grounds :—

The several negations of fire, which together engender the knowledge of the non-existence of fire in the lake, characterise individually the kitchen etc.[1] When the hill-fire, the kitchen-fire, the yard-fire etc., are all (severally) negated in the lake, we have the perception of the non-existence of fire in the lake. Now if we consider the inference, "The hill has fire, as it has smoke", the kitchen-fire is negated on the hill, or if we take the inference, "the kitchen has fire, as it has smoke," the hill-fire is negated in the kitchen and so on.[2] But firehood determines, the kitchen-fire, the hill-fire, the field-fire etc. Hence, the sādhya is the determinant of the negatum which is negated in the locus of the hetu. And thus, though these inferences are valid, there is no application of the above definition to these cases. Hence, the charge of avyāpti. It may be replied against this objection that (the sādhya) fire, which exists in the substratum of smoke, is not the negatum negated in the locus of the hetu. But it may again, be objected that the definition is guilty of ativyāpti; because, that which is determined by non-existence-in-the-lake which again, is the determinant of the negatum of the specific negations of smoke in the lake exists in the red-hot iron-ball.[3] In other words, though it may be argued that in a correct inference like, "The hill is fiery, as it is smoky", fire, which determines the kitchen-fire or the yard-fire that is negated on the hill, exists on the hill, yet in the fallacious inference, "The hill is smoky, as it is fiery", there is ativyāpti; because, smoke does not exist in the lake, non-existence-in-the-lake is the determinant of the negatum of the negations of specific smokes and what is determined by the non-existence-in-the-lake exists in the iron-ball which has fire[4]. In other words, the perception of non-existence in the lake has for its object the negations whose negata are those individuals which do not exist in the lake. Specific kinds of smoke come among these individuals. So non-existence in the lake is the determinant of the negatum of the negations of these specific smokes. The iron-ball is also determined by non-existence in the lake and exists in the substratum of fire. So the determinant of the negatum of all the specific negations of smoke (i.e., the determinant of smoke) determines the co-existence with fire and as a result there is ativyāpti[5].

---

* It is a matter of great sorrow that only a few days after Dr. Bhattācārya sent me this article, he passed away. Indeed, we have lost a great scholar. *Editor.*

[1] *Dīdhiti.*

[2] *Bhavānandī*, vol. 1, p. 423.

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[3] *Dīdhiti*. *Vide* also *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 285.

[4] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, p. 424.

[5] Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Anumāna-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*, p. 184. *Vide* also *Gādādhar* vol. I. p. 579.

As an answer to this objection Gaṅgeśa[6] says that the negation, whose negatum is universal, is a distinct type of negation (and not simply the aggregate of the individual negations). Otherwise, there would not be the doubt as to whether air has colour in spite of the perception of the negation of all known colours in air. This doubt explains that the general negation is something additional to the collection of individual negations. There is the definite perception of the negation of each individual (known) colour and hence, of the sum of all (known) colours in air and yet there is the doubt whether air has colour or not. This doubt is a proof of the separate existence of general negation. This doubt is not concerning the substantive air, but an adjective of air, i.e., whether air is coloured or not. Nor again, is the doubt about colour itself. The doubt is about the precise relation between air and colour, i.e., whether it is a positive relation of one being qualified by the other or a negative relation of exclusion of one by the other.

Gaṅgeśa presents this doubt in a two-fold manner: (1) It is known that all the recognised colours are negated in air and yet there is doubt whether there is colour in air or not. (2) It is known that air is other than, i.e., different from the substrata of recognised colours and yet there is doubt whether air is the substratum of colour or not[7].

Here a school of thinkers[8] says that the second doubt is expressive of reciprocal non-existence and hence, is different from the first. But reciprocal non-existence is not necessarily expressive of doubt, as reciprocal negation obtains between any two qualities or things which are not exactly identical. Hence, Raghunātha says that doubt arises when two contradictory characters seem to abide in the same substance, though really the same substance cannot have incompatible characters at the same time. In the particular case under consideration, doubt is with regard to air as possessing colour or not, i.e., whether colour exists in air or its negation characterises air[9].

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[6] *Tattva-cintāmaṇi.*

[7] *Tattva-cintāmaṇi.*

[8] Referred to in the *Dīdhiti.*

According to a third view, the doubt here is with regard to colour as existing or not existing in air, for if it is certain that there is the non-existence of all individual colours in air, a doubt with regard to the existence of colour in air does not arise[10]. Otherwise, i.e., if such a doubt arises here[11], doubt will also arise about the existence of the jar on the ground, when it is definitely known that the jar exists on the ground, or about the non-existence of the jar on the ground, when it is ascertained that the jar is absent on the ground.

Thus, this view holds that the doubt about the existence of colour in air is dispelled, if all the negations of colour are ascertained in air. But when negations of all colours are not known, doubt remains. This opinion amounts to the position that (1) we have no exhaustive knowledge of all the negations of colour, (2) nor have we an exhaustive knowledge of the possible *ways* in which colour may be negated, (3) we have also no exhaustive knowledge of the negations characterising the object where colour is found to exist and (4) lastly, we have also no exhaustive knowledge of all the negations that hold of the colours that are negated[12]. Of these, the first and the third do not come up for consideration, for the determination of these negations takes place through their existence in objects. Nor the second and the fourth stand logical scrutiny. For, even if all the negata and all their negations are not apprehended, there is the sure knowledge that the jar does not exist on the ground through its non-perception there. But this sure knowledge removes the doubt about the jar and its non-existence. Hence, the term "all" as an adjunct of the negata and their negations is unmeaning in creating doubt[13].

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[9] *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 287.

[10] *Dīdhiti* and *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, p. 430.

[11] *Gādādharī*, vol. I, p. 539.

[12] *Dīdhiti* and *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 289.

It may be argued that the certainty of the negations of all colours, as reinforced by the certainty of the absence of the possibility of any additional colour, is opposed to the doubt regarding generic colour[14].

It may be objected to against this argument that any additional colour being unrecognised, the question of the possibility of an additional colour need not be raised[15].

As a reply to the above, it is said that the question is whether it is possible that colour is different from earth, air, etc. or not. But this possibility disappears, when it is certainly known that colour is not different from earth, air etc.

This argument, according to Raghunātha, is cumbrous and hence, absurd. Further, even when there is no possibility of any additional colour and there is the certainty of the negations of specific colours, the doubt about the existence of generic colour remains. But if a negation whose negatum is a generic object does exist, then all such doubt is dispelled. If the generic colour is negated in air, then there can be no doubt about the non-existence of colour in air. Hence, a general negation in addition to the specific negations is a fact. No amount of summation of particular negations amounts to a general negation. A general negation is a distinct type of negation different from a sum or aggregate of particular negations. And a general negation being certified by experience, the doubt under discussion does not arise, i.e., the certainty displaces the doubt[16].

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[13] *Dīdhiti* and *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, pp. 431-32.

[14] *Gādādharī*, vol. I, p. 541.

[15] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, p. 432.

[16] *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 289.

But it may be objected that colour is not perceived in the two jars which are held very close to the two eyes and so the generic colour cannot be the negatum of these particular negations and hence, what we call the negation of generic colour turns out to be the additional negation not through colour but through the substrata of colour in the two jars[17]. In other words, even in some coloured objects, sometimes colour is not perceived, and hence, individual negations cannot have a generic negatum. But even in the coloured object there is the negation of some colour[18]. Hence, the generic negation of colour depends on the nature of its substratum.

As a reply to this objection, Raghunātha says that when we have negation which is true of every instance of a class of negations, or when an adjectival character is pervasively absent in all the several particular instances of its absence, we have sāmānyābhāvaḥ or negation of a generic character[19]. And this negation of a generic character in the substrata of all its particular negations is possible; because, the generic negation is separate from the sum of particular negations. The sum of the particular negations does not characterise the substratum of each and every particular negation. But the generic negation being separate from the aggregate of particular negations, characterises the substratum of every particular negation and hence, is true of all particular negations. If the negation of the generic colour characterises a substance, then it has no kind of colour (when P is a universal and its instances are P_1, P_2, P_3, etc., not-P is not not-P_1 + not-P_2 + not-P_3 + etc. For not-P is true of not-P_1 ,of not-P_2 or of not-P_3 and not-P_1 + not-P_2 + etc., is not true of not $+ P_1$ or of not-P_2).

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[17] *Bhavānandī*, vol I p. 433.

[18] *Jāgadīśī* vol. I, p. 289.

[19] Abhāvasya ca yāvadviśeṣābhāvādhikaraṇa-vṛttitvena viśiṣṭasya tadavacchedena vā sāmānyāvacchinna Pratiyogitākatvam. *Dīdhiti*.

It may be argued that a generic character, an individual character, the negata of a generic negation and an individual negation respectively—are different and therefore, a generic negation and an individual negation are different[20]. And because, the differences of the negata of the negations makes the negations different, therefore, the absolute negation, antecedent negation, emergent negation or destruction as well as reciprocal negation of a particulr jar are not different. But the different kinds of negation of the same jar are determined in different ways. The reciprocal negation of that jar is determined by the relation of identity, its absolute negation by the relation of conjunction, its antecedent negation and destruction by its future and past existence[21].

But this view is defective. For, the negata of the three kinds of samsargābhāvaḥ (negation other than reciprocal non-existence) cannot be said to have the same determinant and there is no proof that past and future existences determine the negata of emergent negation and antecedent negation in all cases[22]. The propositions "The jar does not exist", "The jar is destroyed" and "The jar will come into existence" are expressive of absolute negation, emergent negation and antecedent negation respectively. But in all these cases we do not get the same jar. The jar that is destroyed is not the very jar that will come into existence.

Again, the difference of determinants does not necessarily make the negations different. Absolute negation, antecedent negation and reciprocal negation are not different from each other's own nature[23]. Further, it cannot be said that whenever there is the difference of the deter-

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[20] This is the view of Pakṣadhara Miśra, Vide *Gādādharī* vol. I, p. 544.

[21] *Gādādharī* pp. 545-46.

[22] *Dīdhiti.*

[23] *Gādādharī*, vol. I, p. 546.

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minants of the negata, there is also the difference of the negations,[24] because, the negation and its negatum do not exist in the same substratum. And if the negation and the negatum do not co-exist, the difference of the negata is not pervaded by the difference of negations. Colour-hood and "that" colour differ, but their negations do not differ, because the negation of both of them characterises air[25]. There is also no invariable concomitance between the negation of "that" colour and the negation whose negatum is different from the negatum of the negation of colour-hood[26]. And such an invariable concomitance being not guaranteed, the negatum of a negation may be determined variously, namely, by this or that colour, this or that taste, this or that pleasure, this or that pain, yet the negation may not differ in these different cases. As a matter of fact, negations differ, not because their negata are not the same, but their substrata are incompatible. Just as affirmations differ, when they have incompatible substrata, so do negations. Thus the absolute negation of the objects pervading the same space and time is one and the same. Similarly, the antecedent negations and destruction of things, which come into existence of the same moment and are destroyed simultaneously, are but the same, if their is no opposition in their occupying the same space. And if the negation whose negatum is determined by the essence of an opposed substratum (Vyadhikaraṇa-dharmāvacchinnābhāvaḥ) is taken to be valid, then the negatum of one such negation is determined by all the essences of all opposed substrata, as also by all the relations of the same as well as of opposed substrata.[27] In fact, if a negation whose negatum is determined by the essence of an opposed substratum is admitted, then its negatum may be determined by any relation. Further, there is no distinction between the negation whose negatum is determined by the *essence* of an opposed substratum and a negation whose negatum is determined by the *relation* of an opposed substratum.[28] Ether is negated in the relation of inherence and this negation of ether is the same as its negation through the essence of an opposed substratum (Ether is a substance and stands in the relation of conjunction to other things).

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[24] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, p. 437.

[25] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I p. 437.

[26] *Dīdhiti*.

[27] *Dīdhiti*. "The jar does not exist as cloth" is an instance of negation whose negatum is determined by the essence of an opposed substratum.

Thus, the difference of negations is determined by the difference of substrata and not by the difference of their negata and the generic negation is additional to the sum of particular negations. But if the generic negation is identified with the sum of particular negations, the very difference of negations is obliterated, because there is no logical opposition in admitting the same negation as having various negata, both universals (like cow-hood and horse-hood) and particulars (like a particular jar or a particular cloth).[29] Here, the negations of the different things, like the jar, cloth etc., become identical, because the different negata negated do not make the negations different, but the negations characterising the same locus are the same. The result is that the negation of colour-hood and the negation of this or that colour become equalised, because both these negations characterise air. But elsewhere a particular colour may be negated, and not all colours. In a black thing, white is negated. So the negation of white does not mean the negation of all colours. Thus, if the generic negation and particular negation become identical, then colour is to be denied even in an object which has colour. Hence, the generic negation is separate from particular negations. But as the universal inheres in many things and yet is not identical with them, so the generic negation characterises the substrata of each of the several particular negations and yet is not identical with them. In fact, the negation of the generic object is not circumscribed to a collective number.[30] The negation of colour-hood does not mean the negation of colour in any definite number of objects. But if the generic negation is supposed to be limited to a collective number, logical difficulties arise. Just as the jar and the cloth existing in different substrata appear as a duality, so the simultaneous conjunction of the senses with two opposed substrata of particular negations would give rise to the knowledge of generic negation (if the generic negation is supposed to be limited to any definite number)[31]. In other words, the perception of the jar and the cloth would produce the perception of the non-existence of the generic colour, because, the negations of the specific colours are conjoined in these two[32]. Further, the perception of quality as inhering in a number of things does not require the perception of all the substrata of quality. But it may be argued that the existence of a character in a number of things is a matter of ordinary perception and hence, if all the substrata of quality are not perceived the character of quality as existing in a definite number of things is not perceived. The reply is that the existence of a relation in a number of things is realised, even if all the substrata of that relation are not perceived[33]. And this being true of relation, it may be said that the knowledge of the generic negation arises when only one negation is perceived. But if the knowledge of a character as existing in a number of things depends on the contact of the senses with all the substrata of that character, then the knowledge of those substrata as well as the knowledge of the differences of these substrata among themselves depends on the sense-contact with these. For in the absence of the sensuous contact with these substrata and their differences, the existence of a character in a number of things cannot be known and the wrong perception of the substratum leads to the wrong perception of that character. But in the knowledge of the genric negation, it is not a fact that all the particular negations, which are different from each other, are perceived earlier than the perception of the generic negation, because here all the particular negations are not perceived one by one[34]. In other words, the generic negation not being defined by any collective number, the perception of the generic negation does not mean the perception of every particular negation one after another. Indeed in connection with this discussion on the nature of generic negation, the opinion of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma is worthy of notice. According to Sārvabhauma, the idea of generic negation as equivalent to an infinite number of particular negations or as being limited to a collective number is cumbrous; so for the sake of simplicity a generic negation should be considered to be only one negation.

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[28] *Gādādharī*, vol. I, p. 551. Vyadhikaraṇa-sambandhāvacchinnābhāvaḥ.

[29] *Gādādharī*, vol. I, p. 551.

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[30] *Dīdhiti.*

[31] *Dīdhiti.*

[32] *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 296.

[33] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, p. 444.

But it may be argued that the ideas of the generic negation and its substratum are not simpler than the ideas of the generic negation and its characterisation of a collective number (of substrata)[35].

The reply is that though in both cases there are two ideas, yet the idea of the generic negation being one separate negation is simpler than the idea of the generic negation as characterising a collective number of substrata. Indeed the generic negation characterises its substratum in self-relation and the generic negation characterising a collective number of substrata is determined by the relations of collective extensity (paryāpti) and self-relation (svarūpa-sambandha)[36].

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[34] *Dīdhiti* and *Jāgadīśī* vol. I, p. 298.

[35] *Jāgadīśī* vol. I, p. 299.

But it may be argued that collective extensity being not known to be determined by any other relation, the separateness of the generic negation in the particular negations is determined by the relation of collective extensity but not by self-relation and so there is no cumbrousness in the idea of the generic negation as having only collective extensity in all the particular negations[37].

The reply to this argument is that even if Vinigamanā (the validity of one of the two contending arguments, i.e., a crucial instance) is not admitted here, the separate existence of the generic negation is valid. For of the two contending views, one may be false, both may be false and both may be true, and in the case under consideration, if the relation of the collective extensity of the generic negation is valid, its separate existence in the substratum which is not determined by the relation of collective extensity, is equally valid, the non-existence of colour-hood being perceived in air[38].

But it may again be argued that though the generic negation of colour is one additional negation, yet the conception of this negation as characterising an infinite number of substrata is more cumbrous than the conception of the generic negation of colour as the aggregate of the particular negations of colour and as characterising a collective number of substrata. The reply is that the generic negation of colour is perceived as a separate negation and so the conception of this separate negation as characterising an infinite number of substrata is a fruitful one and as such the alleged charge of cumbrousness is baseless[39].

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[36] *Jāgadīśī*, vol. I, p. 300.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Bhavānandī*, vol. I, pp. 448-49.

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THE ṚGVEDIC THEORY OF DRAMA

By Prof. P. S. Sastri

I.

Apart from the dramatic snatches, we find in the *Ṛgveda* some very important dramatic fragments of a rare literary value. To begin with, there are dialogue hymns based upon some religious ceremonial. The conversation between Indra, Vasukra and Vasukra's wife (10.27) is enigmatical, unintelligible and allusive. There is considerable dramatic value attached only to the opening stanza, where the wife of Vasukra prayed for Indra's presence not knowing that he was present in disguise. Similarly, the hymn 8.89 is again, an obscure dramatic dialogue alluding to certain remote things. The conversation between Indra, Aditi and Vāmadeva in 4.18 is an interesting piece of conservation. But it exhibits a want of cogency, coherence and unity. The first line of the third verse,

"parāyatīm mātaram anv acaṣṭa"

is significant in that it is a stage direction. The dramatic value extends only upto the seventh ṛk, for the rest of the hymn is a ballad of Indra. This evidently implies that there was a stage when the Ballad and the Drama were indistinguishable. A study of the part played by the chorus in the Early Greek Tragedy only goes to strengthen this conclusion. Consequently, the origins of the Drama, especially in Indra, have to be sought in the Ballads. Since these ballads originated from a mythological and a historical interest, we have to accept the social and literary origins of drama. The poetic image is an integral part of mythology; and the poet, as Plato said, is the greatest myth-maker.

Moreover, this dramatic fragment (4.18) of Vāmadeva is a symbolic representation of the problem of Birth;

and it proceeds much in the same way as the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* does. This implies that the purpose of the drama is the representation and interpretation of life in terms of Art. This is the noble mission assigned to Fine Art by Aristotle and Hegel in Europe, and by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in the East.

The flight of Agni is dramatised in the trilogy 10.51, 52 and 53. The aim of this trilogy is to represent the re-opening of the heavenly path. The opening verse of 10.51 is not only dramatic but also highly humorous. While Agni fled from the Gods and hid himself in the waters, the Gods approach his hiding place and in an innocent way declare that one God has seen all his manifold forms, and that he must have been wrapped up, for otherwise, the waters would have extinguished him. And as the gambler in Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* could not control his curiosity and therefore, comes out from behind the idol, so did Agni here. This is a fine understanding of an aspect of human life. Agni, the youngest of the Gods and the 'mysterious tongue of the Gods' carries the day. This trilogy finds its culmination in the dialogue between Indra and Agni in 10.124. These four hymns put together reveal that the ritual content too can be dramatised to the extent that it can be brought nearer human life. That is to say, the drama should never lose its grip on Reality.

The next trilogy of Agastya, Indra and Maruts (1.165. 170.171) reveals how Agastya managed to provide a place in the rituals for the Maruts. This trilogy is significant in the sense that it reveals that in a drama the 'Garbha Sandhi' is the most important one. A drama should be based on conflict, a conflict between human values as in the case of Sophocles' Antigone, where Antigone had to face the conflict between the human law and the divine law. Now, Agastya longs to provide a place for the Maruts, but he is opposed by Indra. Here is an evident conflict between the human will and the divine will. To the Greek mind and to the European mind it also appeared that a conflict involving "spiritual waste" should lead to the tragic culmination[1]. But to the vedic and the Indian mind it always appeared that a conflict can always be resolved, and is generally resolved, by assigning to the issues involved their relative place. It is thus that Agastya brings about a harmony between Indra and the Maruts.

This trilogy is also significant in that; it reveals how art conceals art. The religious back-ground is completely hidden from our view. The conversation is racy and to the point. Appropriate sound values are assigned to the sentiments; and the poetic imagination is acute and keen.

The dialogue between the Paṇis and Saramā, 10.108, reveals the 'dramatic action of the simplest art[2]. Geldner describes it as "a dialogue clung to a ballad," while Charpentier notes here epic poesy[3]. Saramā, the ambassador of Indra, meets the fine diplomats, the Paṇis. Consequently the dialogue reveals all the vicissitudes of a diplomatic mission. All the surprising turns of situations are given and the conversation is taken to be the best medium of representing these. Saramā acts business and is, therefore prosaic. Despite the prosaic "Hound of Heaven" the Paṇis prove themselves to be great artists.

II.

The Vṛṣākapi hymn (10.86) is a fine dramatic piece with a refrain, which reminds one of the Greek chorus.[4] This dramatic fragment centres round a conflict in the mind of Indrāṇī. Indra's natural child Vṛṣākapi not only enjoys

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[1] See Hegal : Aesthetik ;
A. C. Bradley : *Shakespearean Tragedy, or Oxford Lectures on Poetry.*

[2] Winternitz in *W. Z. K. M.*, 23.113 *ff.*

[3] Charpentier : *Die Suparnasage*, p. 91.

[4] Sylvain Levi.

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what is due to Indra in the rites, but also tries to come in the way of Indrāṇī, who persuades her Lord to take a stiff attitude. But she fails in her purpose and consequently there is the "spiritual waste" or the tragic elemant in her character. This is a masterpiece of characterisation and represents an important stage in the evolution of Drama. The Dramatic origins are to be found not only in the Ballad (4.18) but also in the Lyric.

With Viśvāmitra and the Rivers (3.33) we pass into a new field of drama. It is a ballad according to Geldner[5] and an epic-cum-drama as per Winternitz[6]. But this hymn has ṛks of great lyrical and poetic beauty which remind one of Tennyson's Book and of the lyrics of Shelley in pure poetry. There is pictorialism. Though the twelfth ṛk contains the stage direction still here the dialogue is incident to pure poetry. Consequently, it points to the lyrical origins of Drama.

III.

There remain three dialogues which are perfect dramatic fragments having a literary or aesthetic value. They correspond to modern one-act or one-scene plays. The conflict is the pivot of the drama. It involves an ethical problem faced by the leading characters and the concomitant psychological activities. This alone can lead to the "spiritual waste" of a tragedy, or to the "spiritual synthesis" of a Romance. The vedic dramatist brings about this spiritual waste in "Yama-Yamī Samvāda" (10.10) and "Urvaśī-Purūravas Samvāda" (10.95). The spiritual synthesis is shown in "Agastya-Lopāmudrā Samvāda" (1.179). All these three are based on the sentiment of Love or Śṛngāra in its various aspects.

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[5] *Translation and Commentary of Ṛgveda*, volume 1, 1923.

[6] *Die Suparnasage*, pp. 95, 96.

Yamī has a purely Carnal or physical appetite. There is no place for conscience or for society in this Love. Lopāmudrā only knows that her Beauty is spatiotemporal, and, therefore, wants to spiritualise it with the help of Love. She represents the Ideal of human love. She desires the unification of Tapas or Spiritual values with Kāma or Love. In both Yamī and Lopāmudrā we find the true definition of love, though they execute it for different ends. Love demands the merging up of the individual personality in the object loved. What Yamī and Lopāmudrā desired, that Purūravas attempted.

The dialogue between Yama and Yamī is psychological and Ethical, unified in the Aesthetic consciousness at the point where Aesthetics passes into the horizons of Religion and Philosophy. "Yama-Yamī Samvāda" looks like the Pūrva-Vipralambha. Agastya-Lopāmudrā Samvāda presents the meeting of the lovers much in the same way as the third act of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*. Urvaśī-Purūravas Samvāda speaks of the separation of the lovers; and this is similar to the last three acts of the *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa.

Yamī comes to woo her own brother Yama who could not tolerate this since it has wounded his moral Idealism. Dramatic vitality and strength, brisk action, and a racy dialogue characterise this hymn. It presents the conflict between the passions and the intellect, between the Earth and the Heaven. Yama's speech reveals his moral integrity and profundity. Yamī exhibits her realism, practical sense, and shrewdness. There is a graphic and pictorial delineation of her character at every step. Thereby the Vedic dramatist reveals that character and plot are vitally related to one another. Both are indispensable to a drama.

Lopāmudrā (1.179) and Urvaśī (10.95) complain of coldness and neglect on the part of their husbands. They love, and live to love and to be loved. These are the ideal heroines, the prototypes of Kālidāsa's Pārvatī. Their speechesare crisp and pointed. They touch the heart at once. Thereby on the one hand we have the influence of the Plot on the character, and the influence of character on action and speech. This is what Bradley calls, "Character issuing in Action, and Action issuing in Character[7]."

Lopāmudrā complains of the neglect on the part of her husband. As she observes, "old age impairs the beauty of her body." And yet she is speaking in Beauty. Beauty is perfect and sublime as long as there is no human touch. With the absence of human association or Relativity, Beauty achieves Eternality; or as Keats observed "Forever wilt thou love and she be fair[8]". Consequently, Lopāmudrā and Urvaśī are concepts of Beauty, Beauty which is the Sensuous manifestation of the Absolute. Their lovers are Artists. If once the element of Love enters the Concept of Beauty, the latter ceases to exist; for Beauty refuses to be finitised. As such the Immortal Urvaśī could not live with the mortal Purūravas.

Lopāmudrā had the spiritual conflict between Love and Beauty and she casts her die in favour of the former; while Agastya chose the latter. Urvaśī preferred Beauty, while Purūravas longed for Love alone. A harmonious fusion of these two leads to the happiness of Agastya, for his standpoint is noblest, on the other hand, Purūravas chose the human way, and therefore missed his object. The Lopāmudrā Samvāda has a close parallel in the third Canto of the *Kumārasambhava* where the circumstances lead to the generating of Love in Śiva. But it is only the Spiritual fibre of Pārvatī's Beauty and Love that leads to their unification in the fifth Canto. And here Agastya has achieved this.

In the Urvaśī Samvāda, we have the unity of effect, the rhythmic harmonies echoing the sense and a sweet dramatic vitality. There is sustained emotion unravelling the past as we proceed. Urvasī is the first of the devas, the allusive Beauty refusing to be made finite or subjected to the principle of Love. The expression of Purūravas is lyrical, and is, therefore, ardent, sincere and earnest. The reply of Urvaśī is from the standpoint of the Spirit. The "spirit's plastic touch" has not been understood or felt by Purūravas; and therefore, he takes her to be cold and relentless. Consummate art is noticeable in characterisation.

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[7] *Shakespearean Tragedy.*

[8] *Ode on the Grecian urn.*

The Ethical tone does not project here as in 10.10 though both these hymns deal with Love and Beauty, senses and Intellect. The unification of Tapas and Kāma, Beauty and Love, is not the theme here as in 1.179. But pure art greets us everywhere. There is remarkable brevity and the situation is entirely dramatic in character. As the Samvāda proceeds, Purūravas develops pathos. This pathos widens the gulf between him and Urvaśī, for Urvaśī can be known and realised only as Beauty and through Beauty. The Path of Purūravas is the path of Love.

There is an unceremonious compactness in this dialogue. The back-ground is highly suggestive. The unity of effect is surprisingly significant and profound. The climax is artistically brought forth. The very opening verse constitues the Mukha-Sandhi or Exposition. It contains in a potential form all that is yet to follow.

Beauty, as revealed in Urvaśī, is the Divinity of Love which refused to be finitised or humanised. Mortal laws do not apply to Beauty. Hence we are told that the nymphs showed to Purūravas the beauty of their bodies like Swans, only to bite and nibble in their play like horses. That is, Love should evolve itself into Beauty. This is the spirit of Fine Art.

IV.

This brief survey enables us to postulate the principles of Dramaturgy as they are conceived by the Vedic Seers.

Every drama should have a plot, and this plot is closely intertwined with character. Character issues in action, and action issues in character, as in the case of Agastya and Lopāmudrā, or of Yama and Yamī. Consequently, the drama partakes of the nature of the Ballad and of the Lyric as it is seen in the dialogues of Vāmadeva (4.18) and of Vṛṣākapi (10.86). It is a story narrated through conversation which manifests in the garb of poetry.

The aim of the drama is the interpretation of life and the dramatist, therefore, should never lose his grip on Reality. Therefore, he should always select an important problem of life and represent it by revealing its implications. Though a great poem can be written even on the pin's head, a great poet, as Bradley observed, selects only the Fall of Man[9]. Such are the themes approved by the Ṛgvedic Playwrights. The problem of birth engages the attention of Vāmadeva (4.18) and the problem of Love is found in Yama, Agastya and Purūravas (10.10.95; 1.179). At the same time the great artist conceals his art. The problem he tackles should always promote the aesthetic nature. So did Agastya keep in the background the arrival of the Maruts into the ritualistic hierarchy (1.165, 170, 171).

Since the dramatist has to represent and interpret life, every drama centres round a conflict. This conflict is always inward, mental or spiritual. Therefore it is between two aspects of the same problem. It is not between Good and Evil; it is between two points of view concerning the Good. Agastya faces the conflict between human will and divine will in his conversation with Indra and the Rights and Duties is faced in the Agni trilogy (10.51—53), where it is resolved by harmoniously adjusting these with reference to the Station of the Individual. The personal and impersonal values are at variance in Vṛṣākapi dialogue (10.86).

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[9] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry.*

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A conflict between the Psychological and Ethical conceptions of Love is evident in Yāma-Yamī Samvāda (10.10). The conflict between Kāma and Tapas, Love and Beauty, is found in Lopāmudrā Samvāda (1.179) and Urvaśī Samvāda (10.95). This conflict brings about a spiritual waste as it did in Purūravas and Yamī; or it moulds the spiritual calibre of the Individual as it did in the case of Agastya (1.165, 170, 171) Lopāmudrā (1.179), and Agni (10.51—53). Both these aspects achieve a tragic glow. The former is intensely tragic, while the latter bridges the tragic.

The final impression of a Drama leaves us with the idea of the tragic spirit as powerful and all-pervading. There is a Divinity, as Horatio said, that shapes our ends. Agastya with the Maruts and with his beloved as well acts as a child of Destiny. Yama escapes the wrath of Destiny, while Yamī is in the hands of Destiny. Urvaśī shapes the destiny of Purūravas. Thus, in a sense for the Ṛgvedic dramatist, character is Destiny. But this does not leave us crushed or rebellious, for the destinies of the Individuals, according to the Vedic playwrights, are shaped by themselves. Purūravas and Yamī are true to their characters. On the other hand, the tragic characters like Vṛṣākapi, Yamī and Purūravas ennoble themselves in their fond convictions that what they were striving after is good in itself.

At the same time, the Ṛgvedic dramatist is not content with leaving us only to the tragic heights as the meaning of human life. To him, conflict is resolvable by reunifying and readjusting the broken arcs. It is the realisation of the station and duties of the Individual by the Individual himself that unties Gordian knot of human destiny. When the values of life are readjusted according to their contexts, that is, when the universe is treated as a coherent system, then the conflict disappears. Consequently, the spirit will once again, shine in its pristine purity. This is the objective of the Ṛgvedic drama.

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REFERENCES TO CERTAIN SOCIAL RITES AND SOME FLORA IN THE EARLY SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

By Śrī Tapo Nath Chakravarti,

The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, a work describing the heroic exploit of King Rāmapāla and composed or completed during the reign of King Madanapāla of Bengal, that is to say, during the early part of the twelfth century A.D.[1] gives in its third chapter an illuminating and somewhat lengthy description of the trees and plants of Varendrī (i.e. North Bengal), which was the home of the poet. Thus, the second line of the eleventh verse of this third chapter[2], speaks of Aśoka groves and some other trees under the generic name Palāśī[3]. The reading "Phalāśī" suggested by Mm. H. p. Śastrī[4] has been rejected.

The word "Palāśī" or "Palāśin" is given as an equivalent of "Kṣīrīvṛkṣa"[5]. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, a comprehensive cyclopaedia of Indian medical science, written in the 16th century A.D. by Bhāvamiśra, adds that the name "Kṣīrīvṛkṣa" is applied to a group of five trees, e.g., (1) Vaṭa or banyan tree, (2) Yajñaḍumura or Uḍumbara tree, that is to say, the Keg tree or Glomerius fig tree (Latin. Ficus glomirata), (3) Aśvattha or the popular leaved fig tree (Ficus religiosa), (4) Pārīṣa or Palāśa, that is, the tulip tree or Thaspesia Papulnea and (5) Plakṣa or Pākuḍa, that is, the Waved-leaf fig tree or Ficus virance. Pañcākṣīrivṛkṣa is defined in the line—"Vaṭāśvatthoḍumbara parkaṭīgardabhāṇḍeṣu". In place of Pāriṣa some substitute the name of Śirīṣa, while others that of Vetas[6].

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[1] See R. C. Majumdar's paper entitled "*Chronology of the Pāla Kings of Bengal*" in J. A. S. B. (1921), pp. 5ff, where 1130 A. D. is given as the probable date of Madanapāla.

[2] *Rāmacaritam* of Sandhyākara Nandī, Edited by R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji, Varendra Research Museum, 1939.

[3] Cf. Api Viśrutapalāśivṛtā-maśokavanyāptām.

[4] *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Asiatic Society of* Bengal.

[5] Vide *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu* by Umeśa Chandra Gupta, p. 647.

The alternative suggestion is given in the line :—

"Uḍumbaravaṭāśvatthavetasaplakṣa eva ca"[7].

Śirīṣa is the same as Acacia Lebbec[8] while Vetas denotes the cane tree (Calamus rotong)[9].

Aśoka is the name of a well-known tree having red flowers. Its modern name is Saraca Indica or Jonesia Aśoka Roxh. (Latin—Guatterera Longifolia)[10]. Its etymological meaning indicates a state of being free from sorrow and it is specially associated with young ladies in Indian literature. According to popular convention, the Aśoka tree is said to dispel darkness and sorrow from our mind. So Sītā, while staying in the palace of Rāvaṇa, preferred to remain in the Aśoka grove. It is for this reason that Aśoka is called Śokanāśa, Vītaśoka, etc. According to the convention of poets, it is said to put forth flowers when struck by young ladies with their feet decked with jingling anklets. The following verse records the poetic convention about the association of the fair sex with various trees, plants and creepers :—

Pādāghātādaśokastilakakuravakau vīkṣaṇāliṅgaṇābhyāṁ
Strīṇāṁ sparśāt priyaṅgurvikasati vakulaḥ sīdhugaṇḍūṣasekāt/
Mandāro narmavākyāt paṭumṛduhasanāccampako vaktravātāt
Cūto gītānnamerurvikasati ca puro nartanāt karṇikāraḥ[11]//

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the name of Aśoka is fondly associated with that of Sītā, the consort of Rāma, for, while staying at Laṅkā (Ceylon) in the palace of Rāvaṇa she is said to have lived in the Aśoka grove. In the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, a work of the twelfth century A.D., the name of the Aśoka tree is mentioned in connection with the description of Vijayapura, the capital city of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The lovely bunches of red Aśoka flowers, which hide the marks of red paint left on the ground by ladies, are here likened to the crimson rays of the young morning sun:—

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[6] See *Bhāvaprakāśa* (Bengali Trs.), pp. 606-607.

[7] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 630.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 607.

[9] *Ibid*, pp. 588-89.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 604.

[11] See *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by V. S. Apte, p. 181.

> Bhrāmyantīnāṁ tamasi niviḍe vallabhākāṅkṣiṇīnāṁ
> lākṣārāgāścaraṇagalitāḥ paurasīmantinīnām/
> Raktāśokastavakalalitairbālabhānormayūkhai-
> rnālakṣyante rajanivigame pauramārgeṣu yatra.[12]//

Another eminent Bengali poet of this age, namely, Umāpatidhara, who served as minister under three successive Sena kings, viz., Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena, also gives a glowing account of the beauty of the Aśoka tree. Thus, we are told that some trees have their wealth of fruits two or three days after the blooming of their flowers while others are laden with fruits in spite of the fact that they have no flowers, which are the usual predecessors of fruits. But blessed is the birth of Kaṅkelli (i.e. Aśoka) for though it bears no fruit yet it enjoys the privilege and charms of the sweet hands of lady-love through its foliage of ruddy leaves bright like ruby and gorgeous flowers. The verse in question is as follows:—

> Keṣāṁ citkusumodayādanu vinā tenāpi keṣāṁcana
> sphāyante dharaṇīruhāmiha dinairdvitraiḥ phalaśreṇayaḥ/
> Puṣpaśreṇiṣu padmarāgapadavīpatreṣu kāntākara-
> śrīrityeva phalādṛte bata gataḥ kaṅkellijanmagrahaḥ[13]//

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[12] *Pavanadūtam* of Dhoyī, Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat Series, edited by Chintaharan Chakrabarti, verse 43.

[13] *Saduktikarṇāmṛtam* of Śrīdhardāsa, Edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Book IV, 54, 4.

In another verse of the same work[14] written by the poet Jalacandra, we have an interesting account of the Aśoka tree.
This is as follows—

> Kiyantaḥ santyete jagati taravaḥ kopi na punaḥ
> prasūnārtham nārīcaraṇaparicaryāgatirabhūt/
> Pramodādantaścedbalasi phalavāñchā vada tadā
> varāśokaślāghyo bhavatu kataro dohadavidhiḥ//

There are hundreds of trees blessed with fragrance of flowers and fruits but none is so charming to look at as the Aśoka tree which has besides the unique privilege of producing flowers by worshipping the feet of women[15]. From the joy of union, there comes the desire for consummation, the longing for offspring and for this reason the Aśoka alone commends itself to our choice for its benign impregnating message, its boon of being and becoming. So Aśoka is dear to women and in Indian literature it has various names in accordance e.g. :—(1) Aṅganāpriya, (2) Subhaga, (3) Dohalī, (4) Vāmāṅghriyātana (5) Kāntāṅghridohada, (6) Rāmāpallavadruḥ, (7) Naṭa, (8) Kelika, (9) Kaṅkelli, (10) Madhupuṣpa, (11) Vañjuladruma, (12) Apaśoka, (13) Viśoka, (14) Śokanāśa, (15) Vītaśoka[16] etc. The name of Aśoka is also associated with various folk-rites or popular observances mostly current among women. The Aśokaṣaṣṭhī, which is even now observed in Bengal by mothers in Hindu society, is a conspicuous example of it.

The sixth day in the dark half and the same day in the bright half of the month of Caitra (March-April) are intended for the observance of this popular rite, namely, Aśokaṣaṣṭhī, when the goddess Ṣaṣṭhī, that is, the deity concerned with the birth and protection of children, is worshipped in expectation of sons and daughters and for the welfare of kiddies who exist. The idea is given in the following verse:—

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[14] *Saduktikarṇāmṛtam*, Punjab Oriental Series, IV, 54, 3.

[15] See *Some Aspects of Indian Civilisation* by Girija Prasanna Majumdar. p. 415.

[16] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 82.

> Caitre māsyasitepakṣe ṣaṣṭhyāṁ ṣaṣṭhīṁ prapūjayet/
> Sukhāya putralābhāya śuklapakṣe tathaiva ca[17]//

As its name indicates the Aśoka tree is believed to dispel darkness and sorrow from the minds of the afflicted. There is also a vrata or folk-rite to this effect. This is called Aśoka-trirātra.

Aśokaḥ trirātraḥ is the name of a vrata or festival which lasts for three nights. Its avowed object is to make one free from sorrow. The following verse illustrates the point :—

> Astyaśoka trirātrākhyaṁ vrataṁ śokabhayāpahaṁ/
> Trirātra tacca karttavyaṁ vrataṁ śokavināśanaṁ. [18]//

Aśokāṣṭamī is the name of another vrata or folk-rite current among Hindus in Bengal down to this day. It is observed on the eighth day in the first half of the month of Caitra[19]. Similarly, Aśokapūrṇimā is the name of a popular ceremony observed on the fifteenth day (i.e. bright lunar day) of the month of Phālguna (i.e. February-March).[20]

In connection with the description of Varendrī (i.e. North Bengal) in the *Rāmacarita* mention is then made of the presence of edible Kāṇḍa roots, Śrīphala, Lakuca and Lavalī trees:—

> Paramaviralakāṇḍāvalimayamaviralakalakaṇṭhakūjan-
> mukhaṁ/
> Pṛthulakucaśrīphalakampanasahitaṁ lolamañjula-
> valīkaṁ[21]//

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[17] See *Apte*, op. cit., p. 181.

[18] *Apte*, op. cit., p. 181.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 181.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 181.

[21] *Rāmacaritam*, III, 12.

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Kāṇḍa or Arum campanulatum generally denotes a bulbous or tuberous root[22]. Among edible kāṇḍas mention may be made of sweet potato Vārāhīkāṇḍa, i.e. dioscorea, māṇakāṇḍa or māṇakacu, kāṇḍa or śūraṇa (Latin. Amorphophallus paniculatus), etc.

The word Śrīphala generally denotes the vilva tree or the wood-apple tree (AEgle or Aragle Marmelos) but the name is also applied to Āmalakavṛkṣa, Nīlivṛkṣa, etc. (Emblica officinalis).[23] The vilva tree has a special sanctity. It is specially associated with the worship of God Śiva and with that of goddess Durgā. The first advent or annual Bodhana of the goddess Durgā takes place at the foot of a vilva tree.

Lakuca is a kind of bread-fruit tree[24]. Its Latin name is Artocarpus Locoocha[25]. Lavalī is the name of a delicious fruit tree. Its Latin name is Ciccodisticha[26]. Lavalī is mentioned in a verse of Umāpatidhara where a young monkey is described as pulling it through anger :—

Nāmībhiḥ prasavaiḥ svayaṁ nipatitairbhūmī vidhatte dhṛtiṁ,
nāroḍhuṁ paripākameduraphalāḥ śaknoti śākhāśikhāḥ/
Aprajñātanijaprabhāvakupita kokūyamāno ruṣā-
ṅkūrdanvānara-sūnureṣa Lavalīkṣoṇīruhaṁ karṣati[27]//

In verse 13 of chapter III of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī the word "Kandala" is used to denote foliage (aṅkura, kapāla, kandara, etc.)[28]. But the same word may also be taken among others in the sense of "Kadalīpuṣpa", that is to say, flower of the plantain tree (Musa sapientum)[29].

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[22] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 199.

[23] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1075.

[24] Apte, op. cit., p. 808.

[25] *Bhāvaprakāśa* (Bengali Translation), p. 613.

[26] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 616.

[27] *Saduktikarṇāmṛtam*, IV, 48, 2.

[28] See *Rāmacaritam*, Varendra Research Museum publication, p. 88.

[29] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 195 and 200.

The plantain tree is considered to have a special sanctity. Its fruits, leaves and offshoots are even now used in popular religious ceremonies in Bengal.

The "maṅgalaghaṭa", or the auspicious water-pitcher used in all kinds of festivals in Hindu society in Bengal, is usually associated with a young plantain tree or its offshoot. The plantain tree is also used as an emblem of the consort of the elephant-headed God Gaṇeśa during the annual worship of the mother-goddess Durgā. The same verse also mentions the name of the Nāgaraṅga tree. Nāgaraṅga is the name of the orange tree. Its Latin name is Citrus aurantium[30].

The second line of the verse 16 of the third chapter of *Rāmacarita*, e.g., "Karuṇamahitamagandhaṁ priyālayābaddhajīvanaṁ dadhatīm," mentions the names of Karuṇa trees and Priyāla plants. Karuṇa is a class of lemon tree (Citrus Decumana). Karuṇa also denotes a Mallikā plant. Karuṇamallī is the name of the plant jasminum Sambac[31]. Priyāla is the vine plant[32]. Priyāla or Priyālaka is the name of a tree producing sweet fruits. It is called the Piyāla tree (Buchanania Latifolia)[33].

The next verse[34] states that there were in Varendrī (North Bengal) excellent paddy plants of various kind, fine bamboos and sugarcane :—

> Bahudhānyarājasaṁhatisaṁbhāvitakāmyarūpayā lakṣmyā/
> Sadvaṁśāstāritayā prasphuradikṣvāku-śekharābharaṇaṁ//

Vaṁśa is the name of the common bamboo cane (Latin-Bambusa arundenacea)[35]. Ikṣvāku or Ikṣu is the well-known sugarcane (Saccharum officinarum). Twelve varieties of sugarcane are known to exist.

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[30] Apte, *op. cit.*, p. 5407; *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 598, cf. "Prabaladvikramakandalaśobhādharamīkṣaṇāmṛtaughamucaṁ/ . . . . . Kiñca bahunāgaraṅgañjitavantaṁ vāsavodyānam"// Verse 13, chap. III.

[31] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 215.

[32] *Ibid*, p. 714.

[33] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, 0.616.

[34] *Rāmacaritam*, III, 17.

[35] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 590.

North Bengal or the Puṇḍra country has given its name to a special variety of sugarcane called "Pauṇḍraka"[36]. In a verse of Vākpatirāja[37] the sugarcane plant is described as suffering for the good of humanity :—

> Parārthe yaḥ pīḍāmanubhavati nirvyājamadhuro
> yadīyaḥ sarveṣāmiḥa khalu vikāropyabhimataḥ /
> Na samprāpto vṛddhiṁ sapadi hatadaivātsamucitāṁ
> kimikṣordoṣoyaṁ sa punaraguṇāyā marubhuvaḥ //

Another verse written by an unknown poet[38] gives a faithful picture of peasant life in Bengal. It describes the harvest season in a village. The cultivator's house is now rich with plenty of ripe paddy and barley. Cows, bullocks and goats, the usual household cattle, are now being nourished with fresh hay and the village is astir with the noise of pressing-machines which are being worked for bringing out the juice of the sugarcane to the excitement of persons interested in molasses :—

> Śālicchedasamṛddhahālikagṛhāḥ saṁsṛṣṭanīlotpalaḥ
> snigdhaśyāmayavaprarohanivīḍavyādīrghasīmodarāḥ /
> Modante parivṛttadhenvanaḍuhacchāgāḥ palālairnavaiḥ
> saṁsaktadhvanadikṣuyantramukharā grāmā guḍāmodinaḥ//

Another poet named Vācaspati[39] similarly gives the picture of juice coming out of puṇḍraka sugarcane which are being pressed in a machine driven by human hand :—

> Siddhārthāḥphalasūcibandhagurubhirlolantyamī pallavai-
> rucchindantyadha eva bandhuratayā kolīphalānyarbhakāḥ /
> Pākapraślathapatrakoṣadalanavyaktāṅkuragranthayo
> niṣṭhīvantyapi hastayantrakalitāḥ puṇḍrekṣuyaṣṭyo rasam //

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[36] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 131.

[37] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, IV, 58, 5.

[38] *Ibid*, II, 176, 3.

[39] *Ibid*, II, 177, 2.

Siddhārtha is the name of white mustard seed (Cruciferae sinapis)[40] while kolīphala denotes the plum or jujube tree.

A verse of Śubhāṅka[41] describes in a nutshell some winter crops of Bengal :—

Māṣiṇaṁ muṣitaṁ yaveṣu yavasaśyāmacchaviḥ śīryate,
grāmāntāśca madhūkadhūsarabhuvaḥ smeraṁ yavānīvanam/
Puṣpāḍhyāḥ śatapuṣpikāḥ phalabhṛtaḥ siddhyanti siddhārthakāḥ,
snigdhā vāstuka vāstavaḥ stavakitastambāca kustumbarī"//

Māṣa or māṣaka denotes a class of kidney-bean (Phaseolus radiatus or Phaseolus Roxburghii)[42]. It may also mean a class of sesamum. Yava or Hordeum hexastichum is the name of barley. Madhūka is Bassia latifolia tree[43]. Yavānī is a kind of bad barley.[44] The name Yavānī or yavasāhvayā is also applied to denote the Ajava seeds (Latin Carum copticum ptychotis).[45]

Śatapuṣpikā is the name of a class of paddy (ṣaṣṭikaśāli dhānya). The name is also applied to Śulphā, that is, Dill seeds or Drill seeds (Latin, Aurthum graveyolens or Peucedanum Sowa or Peucedanum Graveslons). It is also the name of Misi or maurī seeds, i.e., Fenul seeds.[46] Various names of Śatapuṣpa are given in a verse of the *Amarakoṣa* [47] :—

Śatapuṣpā sitacchatrāticchatrā madhurā misiḥ/
Avākpuṣpī kāravī ca saraṇā tu prasāriṇī//

Siddhārthaka (Cruciferae sinapis) is white mustard. It is distinguished from black mustard. Vāstuka is the name of a Śāka plant called Beto śāka or whitegoose foot (Latin. Chenopodium Album). It is also called yavaśāka, because it grows in the field amidst barley[48].

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[40] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1122.

[41] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 177, 1.

[42] See *Vaidyaka-śabdasindhu*, p. 819.

[43] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 780.

[44] Apte, *op. cit*, p. 783.

[45] See *Bhāvaprakaśa*, p. 560.

[46] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 561; *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1032.

[47] See *Amarakoṣa*, Bombay edition, II, 152.

Stamba denotes a sheaf of corn or a clump of grass (tṛṇādīnāṁ guccha). It is also the name of the Rohitaka or Royanā tree[49]. Kustumbarī or Kustumburī is the name of a pungent seed used in condiment. It is the plant, coriander (Latin Coriabrum Sotivam)[50]. A verse written by an unknown poet[51] shows that seeds of paddy and barley were sown in the fields, which were situated in the outskirts of villages, during the rainy season :—

> Ete karvuritātapāstata itaḥ saṁjāyamānāmbuda-
> cchedaiḥ saṁprati ketakīdalamiladdarbhātitheyodayāḥ/
> Grāmāntodgataśālibījayavasāśleṣaprahṛṣyanmano-
> govāhāyatagītigarbhitadiśo ramyāḥ sakhe vāsarāḥ//

Ketakī is the flower of the screw-pine tree while darbha denotes the sacred Kuśa grass used in offering oblations. A contemporary treatise on smṛti named *Hāralatā*, written probably in the twelfth century A. D. by a Bengali writer named Aniruddha, who is said to have been the preceptor of King Vallālasena, the Sena King of Bengal, says that the name Śāli is applied to the paddy produced during later autumn, i.e. "hemanta", while Vrīhi denotes the paddy which is harvested in early autumn[52].

Under the caption "Vrīhi" mention is here made of "yava" (barley), "godhūma" (wheat) and "Śāli" (i.e. sāli rice). Under the caption "taṇḍula" mention has similarly been made of "māṣa", "mudga" and tila[53]. Godhūma

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[48] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, pp. 637-38.

[49] Vide *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1158.

[50] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 560.

[51] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 165, 5.

[52] Cf. Śaratpakvadhānyam Vrīhiḥ, haimantikam śāliḥ.

[53] See Hāralatā of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 23.

(Triticum vulgare) is the common wheat while Māṣa is a sort of kidney bean, as pointed out before. Mudga (Phaseolus mungo) is the name of a class of bean. It is called the green grain[54]. Tilaka or Tila (Sesamum Indicum) is the name of the Sesamum Niger seeds[55]. There are four types of sesamum viz. (1) black sesamum, (2) white sesamum, (3) red sesamum and (4) a wild variety called "Alpatila"[56].

Barley, wheat and specially rice are the chief food grains of Bengal and as such they have a special claim for the gratitude of consumers. So paddy is worshipped as an emblem of Lakṣmī, the fortune goddess in every Hindu household. Rice, the sacred life-giving seed of this land, is thus an indispensable necessity, an offering of which, is invariably made in every popular social rite or religious ceremony. Wheat being scarce in Bengal, the next place of importance is given to barley, which is alike associated with every kind of religious ceremony.

Five different varieties of paddy crop are thus enumerated :—(1) Śālidhānya, (2) Vrīhidhānya, (3) Śūkadhānya, (4) Śimbīdhānya and (5) Kudhānya or Tṛṇadhānya like "kaṅgū". Śāli rice (Oryza sativa) is naturally white. It is called haimantika, for it grows and ripens in "hemanta", that is, the period of frost or early winter covering the months of Kārtika and Agrahāyaṇa (middle of October to the middle of December). Vrīhi or the second class of paddy becomes ripe in autumn, after the rainy season is over. The best quality of paddy of this class is known as Ṣāṣṭīkā-Śūka or the third class of paddy includes yava (Latin Hordeum Hexasticum) or barley. Ṣāṣṭīka is so called because it becomes ripe in sixty (Ṣaṣṭi) days.

The śimbī crop or the fourth class of paddy includes mudga, masūra etc. Mudga or mūga, as stated before, is

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[54] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 828.

[55] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 635.

[56] *Ibid*, p. 635.

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the green grain, while masūra (Latin Ervum lens) is cicer lens or Lentil. The last class of paddy includes kaṅgū or panicum Italicum[57]. A verse of Yogeśvara[58] states that the farmer's home is sweet with the scent of fresh "Sthālī" paddy in later autumn (hemanta). The air is filled with the music of jingling bracelets in the hands of young maidens, who are husking rice by hurling pestles :—

Idānīmarghanti prathamakalamacchedamuditā
navīnāndhasthālīparimalamuco hālikagṛhāḥ/
udañcaddorlīlāraṇitavalayābhiryuvatibhi-
rgṛhītapṛotkṣiptabhramitamasṛṇodgīrṇamuśalāḥ//

Sthālī is thus a quality of rice. A similar account of peasant's home is given in a verse of Viriñci[59]. The farmer's courtyard is covered with heaps of vrīhi and scented with the smell of new śāli rice. The household cow with its newborn calf is now an object of terror to young children whose mothers are thus anxious. New straw is now very often sought by the passers-by and so every home in the village is now careful in hiding it :—

Jātokṣotsukagṛṣṭibhīṣitaśiśutrāsārttanārīgaṇāḥ,
Khinnāstīrṇanavīnaśālisurabhisphītopaliptājirāḥ/
Nedīyaḥ khalamṛdyamānamṛditastūpīkṛtavrīhayaḥ,
pānthaprārthyapalālagopanaparāḥ prāyodya pallīgṛhāh"//

A verse of Yogeśvara[60] gives an interesting and an apt description of a cold winter morning in a lonely cottage in a village. Dwan has set in and the sun is not yet up. The air is filled with the smoke of dry cowdung cakes, which are burning in every hearth to give warmth and strength. Bullocks are crowded in the open courtyard and dews are dripping from the leaves of Śimbī creeper which covers the roof and outer walls of the worn cottage. The old have crept to closed nooks and the aged sit tight in corners safe from wind.

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[57] See, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, pp. 632—36.

[58] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 173, 2.

[59] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 176, 4.

[60] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 176, 2.

They long to see and welcome the morning sun :—

Udvegaṁ janayanti sañcitavṛṣavyāptājiropāntakāḥ,
prātaḥ śīrṇakuṭīrapuñjitalatāśimbītuṣārāvilāḥ/
Grāmā gomayadhūmasantatiparikliṣṭāruṇaśmaśrubhir
vṛddhaiḥ kuḍyanivātalīnanibhṛtairabhyarthyamānātapāḥ//

Śimbī is the name of a kind of kidney-bean[61]. It is a common creeper in Bengal. It has two varieties viz. (1) śimbī or śimbi and (2) Pustaśimbī or Pustakaśimbikā. Kolaśimbi or Kṛṣnaphalā falls under the category of śimbī (Latin Canavalia Ensiformis)[62].

There are numerous references in the inscriptions to gifts of land especially paddy fields to Brāhmaṇas. Thus, in the Ānuliā copper-plate inscription, Verse 10, King Lakṣmaṇasena is described as providing Brāhmaṇas with myriads of villages, which had excellent fields of śāli grain :—

Tānuccairatiśāyiśālivasudhānārāma-ramyāntarānviprebhyoyamadattapattanagaṇān bhūmipatirbabhūyasaḥ[63].

In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription, Verse 24, King Keśavasena is similarly described as bestowing villages containing paddy fields to Brāhmaṇas :—

Etenonnataveśmasaṅkaṭabhuvaḥ srotasvatīsaikata-
krīḍālolamarālakomalakalatkvāṇapraṇītotsavāḥ/
Viprebhyo dadire mahīmaghavatānekapratiṣṭhābhṛtaḥ
pākaprakramaśāliśāliśavalakṣetrotkaṭāḥ karbaṭāḥ //

Like barley, rice, or paddy, sesamum plays an important part in many religious functions and social rites like the Śrāddha or funeral ceremony. It has been the custom in Hindu society in Bengal to consecrate all kinds of pious gifts, be it an endowment of land or an offer of gold, silver or anything else, with sesamum and holy water sprinkled by means of blades of Kuśa or Darbha grass.

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[61] Apte, *op. cit.*, p. 918.

[62] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 642.

[63] See *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 81—91.

The Rāmganj copper-plate inscription, lines 28—33 speaks of the grant of a village by a vassal prince named Iśvaraghoṣa. The grant was made to a Brāhmaṇa as a pious gift. The donor is described as having made the aforesaid gift after having duly bathed in the river Jaṭodā and consecrating it with holy water while holding sesamum and Kuśa grass in his hand :—

Jaṭodāyāṁ snātvā tiladarbhapavitro-(daka)-pūrvakaṁ. . . pradatto'smābhiḥ[64].

In verse 18 of the Edilpur copper-plate inscription we find an eulogy of King Keśavasena :—

(His hands) would be kept engaged in discharging arrows drawn upto his ear when he is surrounded by foes, in handling the darbha grass soaked in water for consecrating gift in the assembly of the religious-minded. . . .

Ākarṇāñcalamelakāraviśikhakṣepaiḥ samāje dviṣāṁ/
dānāmbhaḥ kaṇagarbhadarbhakalanairgoṣṭhīṣu niṣṭhāvatām.//

Reference to the use of sesamum for consecration of gifts is also found in a contemporary work named the *Adbhutasāgara*, which is ascribed to King Vallālasena. Thus verse 10 of this work[65] runs as follows :—

Nānādānatilāmbusaṁbalanabhaṁ sūryyātmajāsaṅgamaṁ
Gaṅgāyāṁ viracaryya nirjarapuram bhāryyānuyāto gataḥ/

According to an alternative reading the phrase—"nānādānatilāmbu" should be read as—"nānādānacitāmbuśañcalanataḥ”[66]. In the *Rāmacarita* i. 14, King Rāmapāla is described as :—

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[64] *Ins. of Bengal*, Vol. III.

[65] See Muralidhar Jhā's edition, Banaras.

Dānavyagrakarārppitakuśatilatoyoyamavalāriḥ

This expression is explained by the commentator as follows :—(1) “Dānavīnāṁ dānavabadhūnāṁ agrahaste’rpitāni kuśatilatoyāni yena vaidhavyaṁ tāsāṁ kṛtam/. (2) Dānāsakte kare’rpitāni kuśatilatoyāni yena[67]”// We have thus two alternative meanings viz. (1) One by whom Kuśa, tila and water were placed on the palms of the demonesses (i.e. who brought about their widowhood) and (2) one who had in his hands Kuśa, tila and water, while engaged in acts of (pious) charity. This shows that widows used to offer oblations with Kuśa grass, sesamum seed and water for their departed husbands. This is clear from a verse of Mahādeva[68] :—

Snātāḥ saṁprati vārivāhasalilaiḥ saṁrūḍhaśaṣpāṅkura-
vyājenāttakuśāḥ praṇālasalilairdattvā nivāpāñjalim/
Prāsādāstava vidviṣāṁ paripatatkuḍyasyapiṇḍacchalā-
-tkurvanti prativāsaraṁ nijapatipretāya piṇḍakriyām//

It is a common custom in Hindu Society in Bengal to offer oblations of sacred water usually mixed with seeds of sesamum (tila) and barley (yava) with blades of Kuśa grass for the satisfaction of the soul of departed ancestors. According to the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* of Halāyudha a Brāhmaṇa should take his daily bath and make *tarpaṇam* or offers of watery oblations :—

Tarpaṇantu śuciḥ kūryāt pratyahaṁ snātako dvijaḥ/
Devebhyaśca ṛṣibhyaśca pitṛbhyaśca yathākramam//[69]

A Brāhmaṇa should thus offer watery oblations to gods (devebhyaḥ) with white sesamum seeds (śuklaistilaiḥ), to renowned sages (ṛṣibhyaḥ) like Sanaka, Sanandan and so on with redish brown sesamum seeds (śabalaistilaiḥ) and make such oblations for departed ancestors (pitṛbhyah) with black sesamum seeds (kṛṣṇaistilaiḥ) :—

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[66] See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Reports of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1897, p. LXXXV.

[67] See *Rāmacaritam*, pp. 11-12.

[68] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, III, 46, 5.

[69] *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, second edition, p. 102.

Śuklaistu tarpayeddevān manuṣyān śabalaistilaiḥ/
Pitṛṁstu tarpayet kṛṣṇaistarpayan sarvadā dvijaḥ//

While uttering sacred hymns and formulas prescribed for this purpose (mantraiḥ), one should offer holy water and sacred sun-dried rice (akṣata) in the prescribed manner :—

Ityādyabhidhāya devān brahmarṣīn sarvāṁstarpaye-
dakṣatodakaiḥ//

Tarpaṇa or watery oblations meant for departed ancestors should be made with vessels of gold, silver or copper, for otherwise they will be of no use :—

Vinā rūpyasuvarṇena vinā tāmratilaistathā/
Vinā darbhaiśca mantraiśca pitṛṇāṁ nopatiṣṭhate[70]//

The new-moon day, which occurs just before the bright fortnight (śukla pakṣa) during which the annual worship of the goddess Durgā is celebrated in Hindu society in Bengal, is known as Mahālayā amāvāsyā. The Mahālayā amāvāsyā or the said new-moon day occurs in the month of Bhādra (middle of August to middle of September) or Āśvina (middle of September to middle of October). It has been a custom in Hindu society in Bengal to perform tarpaṇa, that is to say, make offerings of water and sesamum seeds for departed ancestors during the dark fortnight preceding the said new-moon day and especially on that particular day of new moon (Mahālayā amāvāsyā). Annual funeral rites (pārvaṇa-śrāddha) are performed for departed ancestors on this day.

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[70] *Ibid*, pp. 103—105.

Sesamum flowers and its leaves are soothing and mild in quality and simple village women would use them to braid their hair. It is evident from a verse of Candracandra[71]:—

Bhāle kajjalabindurindukiraṇaspardhī mṛṇālāṅkuro,
dorvallīṣusalāṭuphenilaphalottaṁśaśca karṇātithiḥ/
Dhammillastilapallavābhiṣavaṇasnigdhaḥ svabhāvādayaṁ
pānthānmantharayatyanāgarabadhūvargasya veśagrahaḥ//

Śalāṭu denotes the Vilva tree or any tender green fruit[72]. Phenila is the name of a fruit. It is usually called the soap-nut tree (Latin Sapindus Trifoliatus or Sapindus Detergens Rox). The name is also applicable to the plum tree (Vadarīvṛkṣa)[73].

Darbha, Kuśa, Sūcyagra, dīrghapatra, kṣurapatra and yajñabhūṣaṇa are different names of the sacred kuśa grass. It is called Poa Cynosuroides (Latin Andropogon Nordaides)[74].

For its use in religious rites, tila, like kuśa, is similarly known as homadhānya, pitṛtarpaṇa, pavitra, pāpaghna, pūtadhānya, snehaphala, etc.[75] The word 'Taila', is derived from 'Tila'. In fact, it is recognised as the only oil-producing seed. As hair oil, tilarasa or sesamum oil, has been in use for centuries. It has also been in use as an ingredient in various Indian drugs and as a fuel for burning lamps. A verse of Umāpatidhara[76] describes the setting sun as resting beneath the horizon and gradually stooping down in the evening behind the lamp-pot filled with sesamum oil :—

Ākṛṣṭaścakravākairnayanakalanayā bandhakībhirnirasto,
nāstaṁ drāgeti bhānurnivasati nalinībodhanidrāntarāle/
Sandhyā-dīpaprarohaṁ bahulatilarasavyāptapātrāntarālaṁ,
vāsāgāre diśantī hasati navabadhūkrodhadṛṣṭā bhujiṣyā.//

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[71] *Ibid*, II, 21, 2.

[72] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1029.

[73] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 722.

[74] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 591.

[75] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 499.

[76] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 146, 4.

The sweeping and watering of the compound and precincts of a household and lighting a lamp in the evening have always been considered a sacred duty for every Hindu householder in Bengal (cf. Sakālabelāya chhaṛājhāṭa sānjherbelāya bātī). Like kuśa, the dūrvā grass is also an important item in more or less every kind of religious worship or socio-religious function like the adhivāsa ceremony. The dūrvā grass is ever green (śyāma) and so runs the phrase—"Navadūrvādalaśyāma". It clings to the soil with its ever-stretching roots. So it grows and multiplies and soon covers the ground like a green carpet. It thus symbolises rapid growth, durability and permanence. Hence, tufts of green dūrvā grass are tied with a string round the wrist of the bride and the bridegroom during their nuptials.

Dūrvā has also given its name to a popular vrata or folk rite called Dūrvāṣṭamī. Down to this day it is widely observed especially by Hindu women in Bengal with a view to have like the dūrvā an ever increasing circle of friends, acquaintances and relations. This festival called Dūrvāṣṭamī is observed on the eighth day in the bright half of the month of Bhādra (i.e. roughly the period in between the middle of August and the middle of September).

Dūrvā or bent grass is commonly called the dub grass (Agrostis Lincaris). Dūrvā (Latin Cynodon dactylon, Agrostis cynosurioides or Panicum dactylon) is associated with the fabulous nectar-pot (sudhā-bhāṇḍa) in the mythological account of the churning of the ocean (samudra-manthana). The contact with the life-giving nectar (amṛta), is believed to have made it deathless. Because of its death-defying, stubborn character it is called (1) sahasravīryyā, (2) bahuvīryyā, (3) anantā, (4) śataparvikā, (5) durmarā, (6) bhārgavī, etc. It has other names, like (1) nandā, (2) mahāvarā, (3) ruhā, (4) kaccharuhā, (5) haritālikā, (6) haritā, (7) Paritālī, (8) tiktaparvā, (9) guṇā, etc.[77] Dūrvā is used as a medicinal grass and has given its name to an indigenous drug called Dūrvādyaghṛta. As to the varieties of dūrvā, we have the aphorism "Śvetanīlamālāgaṇḍabhedena dūrvā bahudhā[78]". Nīladūrvā is also called śaṣpa, śataparvikā, śatavallī etc. Śvetadūrvā or creeping cynodon is also called golomī and śatavīryyā. Gaṇḍādūrvā (creeping cynodon) is also known as Gaṇḍālī, Matsyākṣī and Śakulākṣaka.

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[77] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 554.

It can melt a hard metal like iron[79]. Dūrvā is mentioned in connection with the description of the harrowing state of a woman separated from her lover in a verse of the well-known Bengalee poet Dhoyī[80] :—

> Daraparinatadūrvādurvalāmaṅgalekhāṁ,
> glapayati na yadasyāḥ śvāsajanmā hutāśaḥ/
> Sa khalu subhaga manye locanadvandvavārā-
> maviratapaṭudhārāvāhinīnāṁ prabhāvaḥ//

Instead of "daraparinata" Mr. Chakravarti reads 'daravigalita'[81]. In a verse of Rājaśekhara[82] the youthful maidens of Bengal are characterised as having a slim figure with the lovely pose of charming dūrvā grass :—

> Atrārdracandanakucārpitasūtrahāra-
> sīmantacumbisicayasphuṭabāhumūlah/,
> Dūrvāprakāṇḍarucirāsu gurūpabhogo,
> gauḍāṅganāsu cirameṣa cakāsti veṣaḥ//

Like grass, we have reference also to small flowerless cryptogamic plant like lichen or moss (śaivāla). Thus, in a verse of Dhoyī in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[83], the beautiful hair on the breast of a lady is spoken of as resembling sprouts of velvet moss dropped from the bosom :—

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[78] *Ibid*, p. 554.

[79] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 591.

[80] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 30, 5.

[81] See *Pavanadūtam* of Dhoyī edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, p. 27.

[82] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 20, 4.

[83] See *Pavanadūtam* published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, p. 29.

Romāvalī satrivalītaraṅga-
nābhīhṛdasyopari rājatā'syāḥ/
Mukhendubhītastanacakravāka-
vaktracyutā śaivalamañjarīva//

Śaivala or śaivāla (moss) has a close similarity to hair. So it is called jalakuntala, ambucāmara, salilakuntala, vāricāmara, jalakeśa, jalanīla etc[84].

Kandala meaning flower of plantain has already been mentioned. Kadalīpatra or the leaf of the plantain tree is similarly mentioned in connection with the rules of meal to be observed during the period of aśauca (i.e. the state of uncleanliness caused by the death of one's relation which is usually observed in Hindu society) in the *Hāralatā*[83]. It has been the custom in Hindu society in Bengal to put a flower of the plantain tree with the corpse of a person who dies on an inauspicious day in the week like Tuesday or Saturday. Even now a petal of the plantain flower is put in case of such death on the door of the premises where the person dies. The flower of the plantain tree is also placed on the bier and carried along with the dead body as a companion (dosara) of the dead person. This is done with a view to save other members of the household from the malign influence of the spirit of the dead person.

The leaves of the Nimba tree are similarly associated in Hindu society in Bengal as an indispensable item connected with the home coming of persons, who carry a dead body, after the cremation is over. The *Hāralatā*[86] lays down the customary rule usually observed in Hindu society in Bengal when it states :—

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[84] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1068.

[85] p. 159.

[86] p. 154.

Gṛhadvāri pādaprakṣālanaṁ kṛtvā Nimbapatratrayaṁ dantaiḥ khaṇḍayitvā ācamanaṁ kāryyaṁ tato likhiṣyamāṇamaṅtrairagnyādisparśaḥ kāryyaḥ......
Uttīryya pretaspṛṣṭāni vāsāṁsyutsṛjyetarāṇi paridhāya gṛhadvāre tasmai pretāya piṇḍaṁ datvā paścāt dūrvāprabālān gomayamagniṁ jalaṁ vṛṣabhañcālabhya praviśanto ghṛtagaurasarṣapairmūrddhānamaṅgāni cālabheran.

It is clear thus that a person who touches a dead body should, after the cremation or disposal of the corpse, bathe and wear a fresh cloth.

Before entering the house, he should wash his feet, chew three leaves of the Nimba tree with his teeth, offer oblation to the dead and touch water, fire, cowdung, white mustard, etc. With few modifications, this is, in short, the practice followed even now in Hindu society in Bengal. The Nimba tree has thus something to do with the work of purification or removal of the fault of touching a corpse. It is thus indirectly a safeguard against any danger from the spirit of the dead man and in popular tradition, it is specially supposed to be haunted by spirit. The mustard seed is also believed to have a special potency when thrown by uttering mystic spells to drive off spirit.

Nimba (Azadirachta Indica) is the name of a tree with bitter fruits[87]. Its leaves and bark are alike bitter in taste. It is widely used in Indian drugs. Its small and slender branches are often used as tooth-brush. Its bitter quality has made it a great disinfectant and so its leaves are widely eaten with a view to guard against the danger of small pox. It is also planted in courtyards and gardens to purify air. As an antidote of pox, it is thus indirectly connected with Śītalā, the Goddess of Small Pox.

Nimba, Nimbaka or the Neemb tree (Latin Melia Azadirachta) is generally supposed to be transformed sometimes into a sandal-wood tree by the fragrant and soft southerly breeze (malaya) blowing from the sandal-wood forest. Nimba is called Kākaphala for its bitter fruits are traditionally believed to be eaten by crows alone. In a verse of Viśveśvara in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[88] the Nimba tree is, therefore, described as not being frequented by any other bird except the crow for its fruits are repulsive to taste though it is laden with the bounty of fruits and looks majestic with its foliage reaching high up in the sky :—

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[87] A. Macdonell, *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 141.

> Phalānāṁ saṁbhārairadharayatarūnunnatatayā
> spṛśākāśaṁ sarvāḥ sthagaya pariṇāhairapi diśaḥ/
> Tathāpi dhvāṅkṣebhyo na punaritaraḥ kopi vihagaḥ
> phalārthī nimba tvaṁ prakṛtivirasaṁ dhāvati mudā.//

Nimba has various synonyms such as (1) Sarvvatobhadra, (2) Hiṅguniryyāsa, (3) ariṣṭa, (4) Mālaka, (5) pūkamālaka, (6) Picumardda, (7) Kīṭaka, (8) Varatvaca, (9) Prabhadra, (10) Pāribhadraka, (11) Rājabhadraka, (12) Pītasāraka, (13) Netā, (14) Sumanāḥ, etc.[89] There is another tree called Mahānimba (Latin Melia Azendarach). It is also called Nimbaka, Kārmmuka, Jīva, Ramyaka, Keśamuṣṭi, etc.[90]

Nimba oil and Nimba ghee are used as ointment for healing up sores and as antidotes in diseases of the skin.

Like the Neemb stick, the branches of the Śākhoṭaka tree are alike used as natural tooth-brush for cleaning teeth. Śākhoṭa or Śākhoṭaka is the name of a small tree (Trophis Aspera).

It is commonly known as Streblus[91]. Like the Neemb tree, it is also commonly believed to be imfested or haunted by ghosts. It is, therefore, aptly named bhūtāvāsa, piśācadruḥ, bhūtavṛkṣa, śaṅkhinīvāsa etc. It has other names like :—(1) Pītaḥ, (2) Pītaphala, (3) Karkaśacchada, (4) śakaṭa, (5) akṣadhara, (6) gavākṣī, (7) dhūkāvāsa, (8) kṣīranāśa etc.[92] The Śākhoṭaka tree is also commonly associated with the worship of Kāntāradurgā or Vanadurgā, a sylvan deity, an agricultural goddess. This goddess is generally worshipped under a śākhoṭa tree. A verse written by an unknown poet[93] gives an interesting account of a festival or a gathering of men and women of the inferior class on the occasion of a ceremonial worship of this goddess. Here we have a picture of musical soiree alike participated by young men and women. Animals are being sacrificed in honour of the goddess Kāntāradurgā and the god kṣetrapāla is being propitiated by showering the blood of these animals under a nearby tree :—

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[88] IV, 58, 3.

[89] See, *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu* p. 609.

[90] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 586.

[91] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1034.

> Taistairjīvopahārairgirikuharasilāṁśrayāmarcayitvā
> devīṁ kāntāradurgāṁ rudhiramupataru kṣetrapālāya datvā/
> Tumbīviṇāvinodavyavahitaśarakāmahni jīrṇe purāṇīṁ
> hālāṁ mālūrakoṣairyuvatisahacarā barbarāḥ śīlayanti//.

In a verse written by an unknown poet[94] the bee is blamed for quitting the budding twigs of the mango tree and going instead to the Śākhoṭaka tree, which has no charm whatsoever :—

> Ayamiha mugdho madhupaḥ parihṛtasahakāramañjarīpuñjaḥ/
> Asaralamarasamasāra śākhoṭakaviṭapamanusarati//

In another verse also written by an unknown poet[95] the soft breeze (malaya) carrying the sweet scent of sandal wood, is adored for it turns into sandal by its mystic power trees like Śākhoṭa, Nimba and Kūṭaja :—

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[92] *Ibid*, p. 1034.

[93] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V, 1, 2.

[94] *Saduktikarnāmṛta*, IV, 31, 3.

[95] *Ibid*, IV, 34, 1.

Kiṁ tena hemagiriṇā rajatādriṇā vā
yatra sthitā hi taravastaravasta eva/
Vandāmahe malayameva yadāśrayeṇa
śākhoṭanimbakuṭajā api candanāni//

Kuṭaja or Kūṭaja is the name of a medicinal plant. It is used as an antidote of dysentery. So it is designated Echites antidysenterica (Wrightia antidysenterica or Holarrhena antidysenterica)[96]. Kuṭaja has various names like Kauṭa, Vatsaka, girimallikā, mallikāpuṣpa, kāliṅga, yavaphala, śakraśākhī, indradruma, vṛkṣaka, pāṇḍuradruma etc[97].

The *Hāralatā*[98] while citing the ceremonial rules and duties to be observed in connection with the taking out (nirharaṇa) and carrying of a dead body, mentions the names of some trees like Vaṭa, Plakṣa, Aśvattha, Uḍumbara and Jātīphala. The paragraph in question states the articles to be used as paste and the resins of trees to be used as an unguent for anointing a dying person :—

"Yathālikhitamantreṇa bhagavantaṁ Vāsudevamuddiśya madhuparkaṁ mumūrṣurdāpayitavyaḥ Majjāvanaspatiṁ niryyāsapradhānaṁ vanaspatiṁ vaṭaplakṣāśvatthoḍumbarāṇāmanyatamaṁ gatvā niryyāsamānīya candanāguru-karpūrakuṅkumamṛgamadajātīphalāni ca piṣṭvā miśrīkṛtyānīya ghṛtatailābhyāṁ niryyāsasarvvagandhaṣaitābhyāmabhyajya śavaṁ nayeyuḥ".

Vaṭa is the well-known banyan tree (Ficus Indica or Ficus Bengalensis). It looks majestic with its tall and massive appearance and its ever stretching roots, branches and offshoots. For its imposing and impressive appearance, it is called the lord of the vegetable kingdom (vanaspati), the best of all trees (vṛkṣanātha). The banyan, with its innumerable branches and thick foliage of dark green leaves, is noted as a shady tree. Weary travellers find in summer days a cool resting place under its sheltering shadow. Its red fruits offer a sumptuous feast to thousands of birds who flock to it for food and shelter. The adage goes that the banyan tree (Vaṭavṛkṣa), ladies having a bright and beautiful reddish-yellow complexion like (śyāmāstrī) that of heated gold and houses made of bricks (iṣṭakālaya) are:—

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[96] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 279.

[97] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 587.

[98] p. 130.

> Śītakāle bhavet uṣṇaṁ uṣṇakāle ca śītalaṁ, that is,
> warm in winter and cold in summer.

Being the most enduring and imperishable of all trees, the banyan tree is justly regarded as——"Akṣaya-vaṭa". It is also regarded as an emblem or symbol (pratīka) of material prosperity (aiśvarya) and is thought to be the home of Kuvera, the god of wealth. It is, therefore, called Vaiśravaṇālaya, Vaiśravaṇāvāsa, Vaiśravaṇodaya, yakṣataru, yakṣāvāsa, etc. It has earned the epithet 'Mahacchāya' for its beneficent and sheltering shadow. The epithet yamapriya (i.e. loved by Yama or the god of death) is probably due to its imperishable character. It is called "Kṣīrī" for its white resin resembling milk (kṣīra) and 'jaṭāla' for its matted bunches of long roots hanging downward from its top, looking like a head with matted locks.

It has other names like (1) Nyagrodha, (2) Nandī, (3) Bṛhatpāda, (4) Raktaphala, (5) Karmmaja, (6) Dhruva, (7) Bhāṇḍīra, (8) Rohiṇaḥ, (9) Bhṛngī, (10) Skandharuha, (11) Viṭapī, (12) Nīla, (13) Siphāruha, (14) Pādarohaṇa, etc[99]. Like Aśvattha, the Vaṭa or the banyan is regarded as a holy tree. Its timber is alike sacred and is used in sacrifices (homa). Because of its sanctity, it is worshipped especially by Hindu women who pour water at its base from sacred pitcher. This is done with a view to have progeny. Womenfolk in Hindu society in Bengal are even now in the habit of hanging brickbats with a rope around its branches for getting offspring. The banyan tree seems to have a special association with Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess of child birth, for its leaves and branches serve as important items in the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī and Mārkaṇḍeya. They are used in Sheṭerā Pūjā, that is, the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī on the sixth day after the birth of a child. Hence, the banyan tree is seldom struck down with an axe and its timber is scarcely used as fuel. In a verse of Śālikanātha in the *Saduktikarṇamṛta*[100] the banyan tree is eulogised as playing the part of an affectionate mother to fatigued wayfarers who proceed on their journey after being refreshed by its sheltering care :—

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[99] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 930.

Nyagrodhe phalaśālini sphuṭarasaṁ kiñcitphalaṁ pacyate,
bījānyaṅkuragocarāṇi katicit sidhyanti tatrāpi ca/
Ekastatra sa kaścidaṅkuravaro vadhnāti tāmunnatiṁ,
yāmadhvanyajanaḥ svamātaramiva klānticchide dhāvati//

Trees like Vaṭa, Aśvattha and so on may thus be included under the class mārgataru for their salutary service to humanity. The name mārgataru, mārgaśākhin or mārgadruma may in a broad sense be applied to any tree that stands on the roadside[101].

It is generally applied to a class of trees or plants, which stands by the side of a road and benefits travellers by their presence. For its service to wayfarers by its kind offer of sheltering shade and food for stomach in the shape of its delicious fruits, a wayside tree (mārgataru) is praised by an unknown poet in a verse in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[102] :—

Yacchāyāmatanuṁ tanoṣi madhuraiḥ prīṇāsi yattvaṁ phalairyannamrosi yadunnatosi cature yadvartase vartmani/
Yatpānthairaparairapi pratipathaṁ prastūyase prāyaśastannāśvattha kṣitijatvameva pathikairviśrāntaye cintyase//

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[100] IV, 58, 1. [101] Macdonell, op. *cit.*, p. 226. [102] IV, 56, 1.

The word 'mārgaḥ' also denotes a particular tree called Rakta Apāmārga or red Apāmārga. Apāmārga is the same as Rough-chaff tree (Achyranthis aspera or Bidentata). Apāmārga has various names like :— (1) Dhāmārgava, (2) Apāṅgaka, (3) Adhāmārgava, (4) Camatkāra, (5) Śikharī, (6) Durgrahā, (7) Durgraha, (8) Markaṭī, (9) Karkaṭapippalī etc.[103] It is said to be specially attractive to ghosts and is used in Tāntric sacrifices for invoking spirit. It has three varieties, viz., white (śveta), black (kṛṣṇa) and red (rakta).

Plakṣa is the tree commonly called Pākura. It is usually known as the Waved-leaf fig tree (Thespesia Populnea, Hibiscus Populnes, Ficus virance or Ficus infectoria). It is a sacred tree and hence its name Kamaṇḍalu or Kamaṇḍalutaru[104]. Kamaṇḍalu is the name of the sacred pitcher. Plakṣa is also called kṣīrīvṛkṣa for its milky resin. Its timber is used in sacrifices.

Aśvattha is the Poplar leaved fig tree (Ficus religiosa or Urustigma religiosum)[105]. It is usually known as the sacred Pippala or Peepal tree[106]. This is a Ṛgvedic tree. People take rest under its shadow and its fruits are eaten by birds. Its sticks are alike thought to be sacred, being used in sacrifices. It is very holy and purifying, for it is regarded as the abode of the god Nārāyaṇa[107]. That is why, it is called (1) Keśavālaya, (2) Kṛṣṇāvāsa, (3) Acyūtāvāsa, (4) Śrīmān, etc.

It is sanctified by the presence of the god Viṣṇu and as such it has to its credit the following significant names :—

(1) Vipra, (2) Devātmā, (3) Pavitraka, (4) Śubhada, (5) Maṅgalya, (6) Śucidruma, etc.

According to tradition, Gautama Buddha is said to have attained his enlightenment while seated in a state of trance beneath a sacred Peepal tree at Bodh Gayā. Pippala or Aśvattha is accordingly called (1) Bodhitaru, (2) Caityavṛkṣa, (3) Caityadruḥ, (4) Bodhivṛkṣa and (5) Bodhidruma. It is called Kṣīradruma for its white resin looking like milk (Kṣīṛa) and Guhyapuṣpa for its flowers are hardly seen. Its green colour has given it the name śyāmala while its use in sacrifices has earned for it the epithets Yājñika and Kapītana.

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[103] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 41 and 817.

[104] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 715.

[105] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 87-88; *Bhāvaprākaśa*, pp. 606-607.

[106] Macdonell, *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

[107] Majumdar, *Op.* cit. pp. 419-20.

It is the favourite food of elephants and that is why it is called Kuñjarāśana and Gajabhakṣaka. It has few additional names like (1) Nāgabandhu, (2) Mahādruma, (3) Caladala, (4) Pippala, (5) Calapatra, (6) Sevyaḥ, (7) Satyaḥ, (8) Dhanurvṛkṣa, etc. Aśvatthabheda is the name commonly used to denote Nandīvṛkśa, a tree allied to Aśvattha. It has other names like Prarohī, Gajapādapa, Sthālīvṛkṣa, Kṣayataru, Kṣirī, Vanaspati, etc. Aśvatthabheda or Pippalabheda also denotes the tulip tree (Thaspesia Papulnea).

It may also be regarded as allied to Aśvattha and has several names like Pārīṣa, Palāśa, Kapicūta, Kamaṇḍalu, Garddabhāṇḍa, Kapītana, Kandarāla and Supārśvaka[108]. Pippala is to be distinguished from Pippaliḥ or Pippalī (Chavica Roxburghii or Piper longum), which denotes the long pepper commonly used in indigenous drugs[109].

The poet Umāpatidhara gives a glowing account of the Aśvattha tree in three beautiful stanzas in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[110]. The leaves of the Aśvattha tree do not enjoy like that of Aśoka the charms of the beautious palms of the hands of ladies having excellent buttock (nitambinī). They cannot vie with the beautiful palms of ladies' hands. They are neither ruddy nor captivating. It has neither the sweet scent nor the beauty of flowers. Lastly, it has no sweet or delicious fruit. Nevertheless, it stands for the good of this world and is held in esteem as a blessed tree :—

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[108] See .*Bhāvaprakāśa*, pp. 606-607.

[109] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 673.

[110] IV, 52, 3; IV, 52, 4 and IV, 52, 5.

Nonmīlantu nitambinīkaratalaspardhābhṛtaḥ pallavāḥ
pratyudyāntu na vaiṇanābhimadhurā modāḥ prasūnaśriyaḥ/
Nābhūvanphalasaṁpado madhurasaprasyandabhājastathā-
pyaśvatthasya gataḥ sukhena jagatāṁ vandyasya janmagrahaḥ//

Expressly the Aśvattha tree does not give delight or pleasure to anybody. Without injuring, it silently ends or removes our evils, though it has no word of encouragement to offer, no heartening appeal to please our ears. Being the abode of Viṣṇu, the Lord of the daughter of Ocean, the Aśvattha tree is endowed with the virtue of removing anxiety and giving relief once we confess our evil dreams and approach it for redress :—

"Sākṣānnaiṣa karoti kāmapi mudaṁ nāhatya hantyāpado
na prīṇāti manīṣiṇāṁ śravaṇamapyāśvāsanāsūktibhiḥ/
Tasyāmbhodhisutāpaterbhagavatodhiṣṭhānamātrādasau
duḥsvapnānviniveditānapaharatyaśvatthabhūmīruhaḥ//

Even now prsons are in the habit of pouring sacred water at the base of an Aśvattha tree with a view to have relief from evil dreams. It is worshipped by men and women alike and the belief is common in Hindu society in Bengal that bad dreams will have no ominous effect whatsoever once they are made known and brought to the notice of the Aśvattha tree.

It is for this reason that the sacred Peepal tree is seldom struck with an axe or its timber used as ordinary fuel. With its leaves eaten by insects, its branches uprooted by wild elephants, its skin laid bare and barks rent open by young elephants or camels and its trunk (sthāṇu) alone remaining, it is still an object of veneration and discrimination to villagers, who are out with an axe for fuel to save themselves from cold :—

Patrāṇi truṭitāni kīṭapaṭalairāmūlamunmūlitāḥ
śākhā vanyamataṅgajairna karabhairāsvādya muktāstvacāḥ/
Sthāṇuḥ kevalamasti pippalatarostatrāpi śītāturai-
rgrāmīṇaiḥ paritaḥ kuṭhārapatanārambhaḥ parāmṛśyate//

Uḍumbara or Udumbara is also a kṣīrīvṛkṣa, that is a tree having white resin like that of milk. Its modern name is Keg tree or Glomerous fig tree (Latin Ficus Glomerata). Udumbara is regarded as a sacred tree. Its timber is alike used in Homa, and hence its name yajñaḍumura. Udumbara has given its name to a well-known republican or non-monarchical tribe of ancient India. Its white resin has given it the names Kṣīravṛkṣa and Hemadugdha. It has no flower and so it is called Puṣpaśūnya and Sadāphala. "Ḍumurer phūla," as the popular Bengali maxim goes, is something unnoticed, something beyond the sight of ordinary men. It is intended for being used in sacrifices and consequently it has several names to this effect e.g., (1) Yajñīya, (2) yajñayogya, (3) yajñasāra, (4) yajñāṅga, (5) yajñoḍambara, etc. It has other names like (1) Pavitraka, (2) Supratiṣṭhita, (3) Śītavalkaḥ, (4) Sauryyaḥ, (5) Brahmavṛkṣa, (6) Pāṇibhuk, (7) Śvetavalkala, etc. Its fruits are commonly used as a vegetable for our curry and as medicine in several diseases[111]. As the result of small pox the eruptions on the skin resemble the fruits of the fig tree (ḍumura). Hence, small pox is figuratively described as "Ḍumure Vasanta". The disease being generally a special characteristic of spring (vasanta) is so named and the vernal season has nothing to do with the fig tree or its fruits.

Besides yajñaḍumura or uḍumbara, there is another variety called kākaḍumura (Ficus Opposetifolia). It has several names like Kākodumbarikā, Phalgu, Malapū, Jaghanephalā and Malaya[112].

Mention has already been made of Pañcavalkala. The word Pañcavetasam similarly denotes the combination of the barks of five trees like Vaṭa, Aśvattha, Uḍumbara, Plakṣa and Vetasa :—

Nyagrodhoḍumbarāśvatthaplakṣavetasavalkalaiḥ/
Sarvairekatra militaiḥ pañcavetasamucyate//

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[111] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 144. [112] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 607.

According to an alternative interpretation Śirīṣa is substituted in place of Udumbara :—"Śirīṣapippalavaṭaplakṣavetaseṣu[113]. Similarly, the word Pañcavaṭī is used to denote a combination of five trees like (1) Vaṭa, (2) Aśvattah, (3) Aśoka, (4) Udumbara and (5) Vilva :—"Vilvāśvatthavaṭāśokodumbareṣu[114]". An āsana or seat at the base of a combination of the above mentioned five trees is considered as being very useful and sacred for spiritual practices. A seat beneath Pañcavaṭī is thought to be specially efficacious for Tāntric rites. In the same way the word Pañcaśasya is usually applied to denote a combination of five grains like paddy, sesamum, mudga or Phaseolus mungo, barley and white mustard. The names are given in the line :—

"Dhānyatilamudgayavaśvetasarṣapeṣu[115]". Pañcaśasya is thought to be very auspicious and is extensively used as an important item in many social and religious rites in Hindu society in Bengal. The Itupūjā or the worship of the goddess Itu (i.e. the goddess Ceres of Hindu pantheon) is even now observed especially by women folk in Hindu society in Bengal. The name Itu is probably derived from the word Ṛtu meaning season and as such Itupūjā may be regarded as a worship of Ṛtulakṣmi, that is, a personification of the early winter season when this goddess is worshipped with many early winter crops. According to another view the Itupūjā is nothing but a worship of the Sun-god and the use or raviśasya or the periodic winter crops named after the sun lends support to this view.

It is clear, at any rate, that the cereals are worshipped. They are placed in small earthen jars filled with clay and sacred water and kept in that state for a month. They are worshipped daily and more especially on Sunday throughout the month of Agrahāyaṇa (i.e. roughly the period in between the middle of November and the middle of December). The word Pañcapallava similarly denotes a combination of the leaves of five trees like Āmra (mango), Jambū (berry), Kapittha (Feronia elephantum), Bījapūraka (i.e. citron or citrus medica) and Vilva (AEgle marmelos). This is clear from the following verse:—

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[113] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 629.

[114] *Ibid*, p. 629.

[115] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 629.

> Āmra-jambū-kapitthānāṁ Bījapūraka-Bilvayoḥ/
> Gandhakarmaṇi sarvatra patrāṇi pañcapallavaṁ[116]//

Pañcapallavam or a group of five such leaves like that of Āmra, Vaṭa, Plakṣa, Aśvattha and Udumbara is alike thought to be auspicious and is used for ceremonial bath and in many other Social and religious functions in Hindu society in Bengal. The Navapatrikā denotes a group of nine specified trees and plants. It is associated with the annual worship of the goddess Durgā as we find it observed in Bengal. The Navapatrikā includes (1) Rambhā (i.e. plantain), (2) kṛṣṇa-kacu (a variety of Arum colocasia), (3) Haridrā (curcuma longa or turmeric), (4) Jayantī (Sesbania aculeatea), (5) Vilva or the wood-apple tree, (6) Dāḍima (pomegranate or Punica gramatum), (7) Aśoka or jonesia Aśoka Roxb, (8) Māṇaka (Arum Indicum) and (9) Dhānya or paddy plant. These trees and plants are put together along with five specified fruits. The white Aparājitā creeper (Clitoria Ternatea or Megorian), according to the *Bṛhannandīkeśvara* Purāṇa, is to serve as a thread for binding together these trees and plants.

The Navapatrikā is placed by the side of the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa and is supposed to be his consort.[117] Before worshipping the actual image, the goddess Durgā is worshipped in spirit among these trees and plants thus symbolising the entry of the goddess in spirit (Navapatrikā-praveśa).

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[116] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 628.

[117] See *Kriyākāṇḍavāridhi*, Vasumatī Edition, p. 323.

Of the trees and plants mentioned in connection with Navapatrikā, the Māṇaka or Māṇakacu is said to be especially scared to Śacī, the wife of Indra. Vilva is especially associated with the god Śiva. It is also connected with the worship of the goddess Durgā. According to popular superstition the Vilva tree is said to be haunted by Brahmadaitya (i.e. Brāhmaṇas turned into demons or ghosts after death). Dhānya is the favourite plant of Lakṣmī while Aśoka is thought to be dear alike to Śiva and Durgā. Haridrā or turmeric is used as an auspicious article in various social and religious rites in Hindu society in Bengal. It is an indispensable item in nearly all kinds of popular observances in the shape of adhivāsa (i.e. preliminary rites) and in numerous religious observances like Upanayana, Annaprāśana, etc. It has accordingly given its name to a common folk-rite in Hindu society in Bengal called "Gātraharidrā", usually taking place before marriage and such other auspicious ceremonies. It is alike an article used for purification (śuddhi). It is thus an indispensable article being used in connection with aśaucānta, that is to say, the termination of the prescribed period of defilement caused by the death of one's relation, which is usually observed in Hindu society in Bengal.

The custom is even now followed in Hindu society in Bengal and the first and foremost task commonly performed to end the period of deadlock (aśauca) and restore the normal order of life by breaking off the ceremonial rules (niyamabhaṅga) is to anoint one's body with turmeric (haridrā) mixed with mustard oil. Haridrā or turmeric is also an indispensable item along with plantain, betel leaf, betel nut and plum fruit in the auspicious basket called Varaṇaḍālā, which is extensively used in numerous Hindu folk-rites and religious ceremonies in Bengal. According to popular convention, the scent of a burning turmeric put near the nostril cures a person from the influence of evil spirit in case one is possessed by ghost. Yellow, being the colour of haridrā (turmeric), is alike thought to be a good omen and so all notices or letters of invitation in connection with auspicious rites like the annaprāśana (i.e. the ceremony connected with the first eating of cooked rice by a child), Upanayana (i.e. the ceremony connected with the first wearing of the sacred thread by a Brāhmaṇa boy), vivāha (marriage), pūjā (i.e. the observance of the religious worship of a deity in a household) etc. are either printed on yellow paper or marked with yellow turmeric marks. Nimba leaves and turmeric are also used, according to popular custom, after recovery from small pox. The skin is anointed with turmeric paste and Nimba leaves.

Pañcarājiphala or Paṭola, a special vegetable of Bengal, is alike included in the categories of Pañcakaṣāya and Pañcatikta. It has various names like Amṛtaphala, Latāphala, etc.[118] It is perhaps the most widely used vegetable in Indian Āyurvedic medicine. The leaves of the creeper and its branches and roots are alike used as medicine. Paṭola, is therefore, called amṛtaphala. Paṭola (Trichosanthes dioica Roxb) creeper is commonly known in Bengal as "Paltā gācha". Among the trees whose sticks are commonly used in sacrifices, mention may be made of Vaṭa, Aśvattha, Plakṣa Yūpa, Udumbara, Palāśa or Pārīṣa, Vilva, Khadira or Yūpadruma, Śamī and Sarjja or Śāla. A somewhat different list of trees and plants whose sticks are commonly used in sacrifices is given in a verse of *Vāyupurāṇa* as we find it quoted in the *Brāhmaṇasarvasvam* of Halāyudha, a contemporary Smṛti writer of Bengal, who is described as :—

Svadharmanirato vipro dharmādhyakṣo Halāyudhaḥ/
Smārtāgnipaddhatereṣa nibandhastena nirmitaḥ//

The verse in question is as follows :—

Palāśaparṇanyagrodhāḥ plakṣāścātha vikaṅkatāḥ
Udumbarastathā vilvāṣcandano yajñiyāśca ye/

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[118] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 629 and 632.

Saralo devadāruśca śālaśca khadirastathā
Samidharthe praśastāḥ syurete vṛkṣā viśeṣataḥ[119]//

Devadāru (Cedrus deodara or Pinus deodara) is the name of a tree producing fragrant wood while Yajñīya candana denotes white or yellowish sandal bars or sticks commonly used in sacrifices. Sarala is the name of a kind of pine tree (Pinus longifolia). The resin of the Sarala tree (Saralaniryāsa) produces turpentine. Palāśaparṇī is a name of the medicinal plant Aśvagandhā (Withania somnifera). Palāśaparṇa is the name of the well-known Palāśa tree (Butia frondosa) called Butia gum. Vikaṅkaṭa (Flacourtia Ramontchi) is the name of a tree noted for its thorny branches. It is generally known as Varsapida.[120] Tila, Dūrvā grass and Kuśa are also indispensable articles in all kinds of sacrifices. There are also some trees and plants whose sticks are prescribed for being offered as sacrificial wood for the satisfaction of each of the nine conventional planets.

The Laghu-Pārāśarī or Uḍudāyapradīpam,[121] an authoritative work on Hindu astrology based on the work of Parāśara (e. g. Laghu-Pārāśara), gives in a nutshell the names of trees and plants whose sticks should be used accordingly for sacrifices to please each one of the nine planets taken in order of succession or arrangement usually followed :—

Arkaḥ palāśaḥ khadirastvapāmārgo'tha pippalaḥ/
Udumbaraśamīdūrvākuśāśca samidhaḥ kramāt//

The stick of Arka plant is thus prescribed for propitiatory homa (sacrifice) in honour of the sun, that of Palāśa for moon (candra), that of Khadira for Mars (Maṅgala), that of Apāmārga for Mercury (Budha), that of Pippala for Jupiter (Bṛhaspati), that of Udumbara for Venus (Śukra), that of Śamī for Saturn (Śani). Dūrvā is prescribed for Dragon's Head (Rāhu) and Kuśa grass for Dog's Tail (Ketu).

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[119] *Brāmaṇasarvasvam*, edited by Tejascandra Vidyananda, second edition, Calcutta, pp. 244-45.

[121] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 967.

[120] Bengali Translation by Ram Gopal Ray, p. 9.

Khadira (Acacia catechu or Mimosa catechu) is the well-known Khayera tree. It is commonly used as sacrificial wood (Yajñasamidh) and hence it has names like yūpadruḥ, yūpadruma, yajñāṅga, medhya etc. It is used as a preventive of skin disease like leprosy and so it is called Kuṣṭhahṛt and Kuṣṭhāri. Its sacred character has given it the name Gāyatrī. It is probably associated with the nine planets like Skanda and others called pitṛgrahas or bālagrahas who are supposed to torment persons in boyhood (bālapīḍākara).

Hence it is called (1) Bālatanaya, (2) Bālaputra, (3) Bālapatraka, (4) Bālapatra etc. Its use as a tooth-cleaner has given it the name Dantadhāvana. It is also called jihvāśalyaḥ, tiktasāraḥ, kaṇṭakīdruma, raktasāra etc. It has three varieties :—"Sa tridhā śvetaraktaviḍbhedāt"[122]. Catechu is invariably associated with betel-nuts in the preparation of chewing betels (tāmbūla). In many Hindu folk-rites of Bengal, catechu is distributed along with betels and betel-nuts. Khadira scented with Ketakī flower is known as "Keyā Khayera". It serves as an aromatic ingredient for preparing chewing betels. Śamī (Prosopis spicigera) is generally known as the spung tree. Its stick is widely used in Vedic sacrifices and Tāntric rites. It is called Vahnigarbhā and is supposed to have fire within it. It has a special sanctity for the worship of Śakti (the female energy of the Supreme Being) and hence it is called :—Lakṣmī, Śaṅkarī, Śivā, Īśānī, Īśānā, Bhadrā, Śivāphalā, etc. It is also called Tapanatanayā, that is, the daughter of the Sun-god.

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[122] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 339.

Its auspicious feature has given it the names :—(1) Maṅgalyā, (2) Īṣṭā, (3) Sukhadā, (4) Śāntā, (5) Śubhakarī, (6) Duritadamanī, (7) Pāpaśamanī, etc. Its use in sacrifices is indicated by its epithets Havirgandhā, Medhyā : etc.

Like Apāmārga, Śamī is used to invoke spirit[123]. The leaves of the Śamī tree, white mustard seeds, Kumuda and arka flowers, honey, Vilva fruit, barley (yava), wheat (godhūma), Śāli rice and so on are alike recommended as articles to be used in connection with the worship of the phallic emblem of the god Śiva :—

Madhunā yavagodhūmamāṣavilvaphalena ca/
Kumudārkaśamīpatragaurasārṣapaśālibhiḥ[124]//

Urvāru is similarly mentioned in a hymn addressed to the same god Śiva by whose grace all kinds of shackles in the shape of snares delusion and worldly attachment are torn asunder like the ripe urvāru fruit which breahs itself in twain :—

"Mṛtyośca bandhanāccaiva mukṣīya bhavatejasā/
Urvārukāṇāṁ pakvānāṁ yathā phalādabhūt punaḥ"[125]

Urvāru is the name of a kind of cucumber (Cucumisutilatissimus Rox). In Bengal, it is popularly known as Kākura or Phuṭi. The bursting out of ripe Urvāruka is popularly known in Bengal as as—"Phuṭi phāṭā." Sarjja (Shorea robusta) is the name of the Śāla tree, which is noted for its thick wood. Its white resin is used as frankincense especially in connection with the worship of Hindu deities in Bengal. A special type of Śāla tree called Gajāri is mentioned in the fourth chapter of the *Rāmacarita*. The verse in question is as follows :—

Sparśana eṣa khyātaḥ sumanovartmavrajan kurango varaḥ
Bhangāndolanataralākāri madārāri santatistena[126]/

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[122] See *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 1024.

[123] *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, p. 135. [124] *Ibid*, p. 135.

[125] *Rāmacaritam*, IV, 34.

It is translated as follows :—

"The well-known wind-god who blows among the rows of flower-plants, is a great object of attraction to a species of deer. He is, again, one by whom the large Gajāri trees are rendered restless by breaking them down and rocking them to and fro[127]". Gajāriḥ is defined as :—

"Gajamādanaśallakīvṛkṣe[128]". Arka (Calotropis gigantea or Asclepias gigantea) is the plant commonly known as Ākanda. Its flowers, like those of Dhustūra plant are specially prescribed along with the leaves of Vilva tree for the worship of Śiva. Both these flowers have no scent at all.

There are two types of Arka flower, viz. śveta (white) and rakta (red)[129]. Dhutūrā is called Thorn apple Stramonium (Daturafastuasa). Its fruits are intoxicating and poisonous. Being specially sacred to Śiva, it is called Śivapriya. It has other names like Madana, Mātula, etc[130]. Palāśa (Butea Frondosa) is the name of a tree also called kiṁśuka[131].

The *Uḍudāyapradīpam*[132], similarly, gives a list of the prescribed roots, of trees, plants and creepers, each of which is taken as being sacred to one of the nine planets. These roots when properly worn are said to counteract the evil influence of the respective planets. The verse in question runs as follows:—

Mūlaṁ dhāryyaṁ triśūlyāḥ savitari viguṇe kṣīrikāmūlamindau
Jihvāherbhūmiputtre rajanikarasute vṛddhadārasyamūlam/
Bhārgyā Jive'tha Śukre bhavati śubhakaraṁ Siṁhapucchasya mūlam
Vāṭyālañcārkaputtre tamasi malayajam Ketudoṣe'śvagandham/

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[127] See *Rāmacaritam* (published by the Varendra Research Museum) p. 141.

[128] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 349. [129] *Ibid*, p. 67.

[120] *See Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 585.

[131] Apte, *Op. cit.*, p. 605.

[132] Bengali Translation, p. 91

The root of the Vilva tree is, thus prescribed to counteract the evil influence of the sun; that of Kṣīrikā for moon, that of Nāgajihvā (jihvāhe) for mars, that of Vistāraka (Vṛddhadāra) for mercury, that of Vāmanahāṭi (Bhārgī) for jupiter, that of Rāmavākasa (Siṁhapuccha) for Venus, that of Śvetabeṛelā (Vāṭyāla) for saturn, that of white Candana tree (Malayaja) for Dragon's Head and that of Aśvagandhā for Dragon's Tail. Kṣīrikā is the name of a fruit tree (Mimonsops hexanbra)[133]. Nāgajihvā is the same as Anantamūla (Hemidesmus indicus).

It is sometimes called the Indian Sarsa Parilla[134]. Anantamūla has two varieties viz., black (kṛṣṇa) and white (śveta). Vṛddhadāra is the same as Bījatāḍaka (Gmelina asiatica or Rourea santaloides). It is the name of a well-known creeper. It has two varieties viz. śveta (white) and rakta (red). It is also called—Vṛddhakoṭarapuṣpī[135]. Vāmanahāṭī or Bhārgī (Clerodendron siphonanthus or Clerodendron serratum) is the name of a plant. Its roots are used in Āyurvedic drugs. According to the colour of its flower it may be classed under two heads viz. śveta (white) and nīla (blue). It has various names like (1) Gardabhaśāka, (2) Brāhmaṇī, (3) Brāhmī, (4) Brāhmaṇayaṣṭī, etc.[136] Rāmāṭarūṣa or Rāma Vāsaka (or Vākasa) is a variety of Vāsaka (Justicia adhatoda or Adhatoda vasaca). Vāsaka also denotes the Vāsantī flower and its plant. Vāsaka has several names like Siṁhapatrī, Mṛgendrāṇī, Siṁhamukhī, etc.[137]. Siṁhapucchā or Siṁhapucchikā is propularly known as Cākule (Hemionitis Cordifolia)[138]. Siṁhapucchī also denotes Māṣānī, a creeper, usually known as Teramnus labialis[139]. Vāṭyālaka (Sida cordifolia) is commonly known as Veṛelā. It has yellow flowers[140]. It has also a white variety called śvetaveṛelā. Candana is the well-known sandal-wood tree (Latin Santalum album).

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[133] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 616.

[134] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 595 ; *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu* p. 596.

[135] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 995.

[136] *Ibid*, p. 747.

[137] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 965.

[138] *Bhāvaprakāśa* p. 582.

[139] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 820.

Sandal wood, sandal powder, sandal oil, sandal paste and sandal soap are used as aromatic articles for toilette. It has been the custom in Hindu society in Bengal, to use sandal paste along with flowers, sacred leaves and dūrvā grass for the worship of deities. Sandal powder is also used as incense. Sandal has seven varieties, the most common being the white and the red. Sandal tree (Sirium myrtifolium) is often a dwelling place for serpents and hence it is called Sarpāvāsaṁ. Sandal is soothing to skin (Śītala) and sweet to smell (gandhasāra). It is also used for medical purpose and is enjoyable in every sense (bhogivallabhaṁ)[141]. Raktacandana (Teracarpus Santalum) or the red sandal wood is specially used in the worship of female deities in Hindu society in Bengal[142]. Aśvagandhā is the name of a well-known medicinal plant (Physalis flexuosa, Physalis somnifero or Withania somnifera). It is a favourite plant of Hara (i.e. Śiva) and so it is named Harapriyā. It serves as a nutritious (balada) and health giving tonic (puṣṭikara) and has given its name to several indigenous drugs like Aśvagandhātaila, Aśvagandhāghṛta and Aśvagandhādyacūrṇaṁ, etc.[143] It may be observed in this connection that propitiatory sacrifices (homa) with the sticks of the above-mentioned prescribed trees and plants are even now performed by many Hindu householders in Bengal and the roots of the above mentioned trees, plants and creepers are alike worn in the prescribed way with a view to counteract the evil influence of the above-mentioned nine planets.

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[140] *Ibid*, pp. 945 and 954.

[141] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 416.

[142] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 573.

[143] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 86; *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 592.

Jātīphala is included in the category of Pañcasugandhikaṁ which are mentioned in the following verse :—

Karpūrakaṅkolalavaṅgapuṣpaguvākajātīphalapañcakena/
Samāṁśabhāgena ca yojitena manoharaṁ pañcasugandhikaṁ syāt [144]//

Karpūra is camphor and Kaṅkola is the name of an aromatic article[145]. Lavaṅgapuṣpa or Lavaṅga is cloves (caryophyllus aromaticus). Lavaṅga has given its name to some indigenous drugs like Lavaṅgādicūrṇaṁ and Lavaṅgatailaṁ. Guvāka is the betel-nut or areca-nut tree (Areca catechu). It has eightdifferent varieties[146]. It has various names like (1) pūga, (2) pūgī, (3) guvāka, (4) kramuka, (5) Ghoṇṭā or ghoraṇṭa etc.[147] Betel-nut is used for chewing and it serves as an indispensable ingredient in the preparation of chewing betels. The compound "Pūgapuṣpikā" denotes the custom of giving betel-nut and flowers to guests at a marriage ceremony[148]. Areca-nut and betel leaves are also used as requisites in many Hindu social rites and religious ceremonies in Bengal. Like the palmyra tree, the areca-nut palm, is a common plant of Bengal. Like the cocoanut tree, it is not only found in gardens attached to houses but in the open space or courtyards within the compound as well. This is clear from a verse [149] of Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*. Ladies of the inner apartment are here described as planting areca-nut palms in the courtyards of houses and watering them with their own hand :—

"Snigdhaśyāmāramaṇamaṇibhirbaddhamundhālavālāḥ
paurastrībhiḥ kramukataravo ropitāḥ prāṅgaṇeṣu/
Yatrāyatnopagatasalilairnaktamāsiktamūlā
nāpekṣante parijanabadhūpāṇiviśrāṇitāmbhah//

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[144] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 630.
[145] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 579.
[146] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 2 and 909.
[147] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 614.
[148] Apte, *Op, cit.*, p. 629.
[142] Verse-38.

The phrase—"Saguvākanārikela" meaning "along with betel-nut (guvāka) and cocoa-nut (nārikela) trees" occurs in connection with gifts of land in numerous copper-plate inscriptions of Bengal like Rāmpāl copper-plate grant of Śrīcandra[150], Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman[151], Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena[152], Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[153], Tarpandīghi copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[154], Mādhāinagar copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[155], Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena[156], Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena[157] and Sundarban copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[158]. The word "Varañja" or "Varaja", a non-sanskrit word, is popularly used to denote a plantation of betel creepers. It is interesting to note that the phrase—"Varajāyasameta" occurs in the Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plate inscription[159]. This phrase has reasonably been interpreted as meaning "along with plantation of betel leaves". The practice of chewing betels especially after meal has for a long time been in vogue in Hindu society in Bengal. Betel creeper may, in a sense, be regarded as a characteristic vegetation of Bengal.

In many Hindu folk-rites the betel leaf is treated as a necessary article for the auspicious water-pitcher (ghaṭa). It is also an indispensable article in connection with the worship of popular deities like Śaṣṭhī. It has given its name to a class of pox called chicken-pox (pānavasanta). In fact, there is hardly any social function or religious rite in

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[150] Cf. Saguvākanālikerā (Lines 23—31).

[151] Lines 37—41.

[152] Lines 34-35.

[153] Line 40.

[154] Line 39.

[155] Line 44.

[156] Line 47 ff.

[157] Lines 59 ff.

[158] See Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.

[159] Line 45.

Hindu society in Bengal in which betel leaf is omitted or has no part to play. Tāmbula (Piper Betle or Chavica Betle) has given its name to the characteristic scarlet hue especially of the lips as a result of the chewing of betels, namely, tāmbūlarāga[160]. Tāmbula is mentioned in a verse of Amara given in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[161] :—

> Lākṣā lakṣma lalāṭapaṭṭamabhitaḥ keyūramudrā gale
> vaktre kajjalakālimā nayanayostāmbūlarāgodayaḥ/
> Prātaḥkopavidhāyi maṇḍanamidaṁ dṛṣṭvā ciraṁpreyasaḥ
> krīḍātāmarasodarembujadṛśaḥ śvāsāḥ samāptiṁ gatāḥ//

Tāmbula is also referred to in connection with the description of a pregnant woman, as given by Karṇāṭadeva[162]

> Alasamadhurā snigdhā dṛṣṭirghanatvamupāgatā/
> Kiśalayarucirnistāmbūlasvabhāvadharodharaḥ//

Jātīphala or Mālatīphala is popularly known as Jāyaphala. Its modern name is nutmeg. The skin or the bark of Jātīphala is generally known as Jātīpatrī or Jaipatrī, that is, mace. Its Latin name is Myristica fragrans[163]. Jātīphala is used as an ingredient in many indigenous drugs.

Besides candana and karpūra already stated, mention may here be made of two other aromatic objects like Kuṅkuma and aguru, which have alike been already mentioned. Kuṅkuma denotes saffron[164]. It is also called kāśmīra, Bāhlīka, piśuna, pītaka etc. Aguru is the name of a plant which supplies one of the chief ingredients of frankincense and toilet preparations[165].

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[160] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 448.

[161] II, 24, 4.

[162] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 10, 4.

[163] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 575.

[164] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 577.

[165] See Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

F. 9

Aguru is thus the name of a fragrant wood called the Eagle wood (Aquilaria agallocha). Aguru or aloe wood has five varieties like Kṛṣṇa, maṅgalya and so on. Aguru is called agnikāṣṭha for its use as frankincense. It is also used for medical purpose[166]. The poet Dhoyī refers to the use of Kuṅkuma as a toilet by fashionable maidens of Vijayapura, the capital city of Lakṣmaṇasena[167]. :—

> Vṛddhoṣmāṇaḥ stanaparisarāḥ kuṅkumasyāṅgarāgā
> dolāḥ kelivyasanarasikāḥ sundarīṇāṁ samūhāḥ/
> Krīḍāvāpyaḥ pratanusalilā mālatīdāma rātriḥ
> styānajyotsnā mudamaviratam̐ kurvate yatra yūnām//

In connection with the description of Vijayapura, the same poet also refers to its palaces[168] where clouds of smoke laden with the scent of burnt aguru wood would come out from the lattice work of windows in the evening :—

> "Prāsādānāṁ dinapariṇatau garbhadagdhāgurūṇāṁ
> jālodgīrṇaḥ sajalajaladaśyāmalo yatra dhūmaḥ/
> Sadyaḥkrīḍākutukarabhasārūḍhapaurīmukhendu-
> jyotsnāsaṅgaprasṛmaratamaḥśreṇiśaṅkām tanoti//

The custom of lighting lamps and burning incense in the evening is even now observed daily as a sacred household rite in Hindu society in Bengal. In a Hindu household, evening is thus incense-breathing and resonant with the sound of blowing conchshells. With the lighting of lamps, sacred waters are alike sprinkled on the portals of doors and precincts of houses in the evening. Being the time for religious worship and ārati, that is, the presentation of wave-offering with burning lamps to sacred deities, evening is also sweet with the notes of jingling bells in the temples and the melody of vespers. Among articles used as frankincense mention may similarly be made of "Guggula". Gugguluḥ or Guggulavṛkṣa is the name of a tree producing bdellium or a fragrant resinous substance used as incense. Its modern name is Burseraceae or Balsamodendron mukul[169]. It is called Devadhūpa for its use as incense in the sacred worship of deities. It is sacred to Śiva and hence it is called Bhavābhīṣṭa, Śiva, Śāmbhava, etc. It drives away ghosts and evil spirits by its purifying influence and so it is called Bhūtaharah. Guggulu is also used as an ingredient in some indigenous drugs. It has five varieties called :—(1) Mahiṣākṣa, (2) Mahānīla, (3) Kumuda, (4) Padma and (5) Hiraṇya[170]. Of these, the first and the second are useful for elephants; the third and the fourth are beneficial for horses while the fifth or the last one is thought to be health-giving and useful for men. Guggulavṛkṣa is mentioned in the Kamauli copper-plate inscription[171] of Vaidyadeva[172].

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[166] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 4; *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 573.

[167] *Pavanadūta*, Verse, 42.

[168] *Pavanadūta*, Verse, 49.

The pious Brāhmaṇa named Śrīdhara is here spoken of as being a great devotee of the god Somanātha (i.e. Śiva), whom he could bring out in visible form from the Guggula tree by his intense spiritual austerities and self-denying zeal.

Like the betel-nut palm, the cocoanut tree is commonly found in most of the villages and districts of Bengal. It grows abundantly in warm tropical climate especially in regions near the seacoast. Nārikela (Cocos nucifera) or the cocoanut tree is called Śirophala or Muṇḍaphala for its fruits are found hanging from its top and they are not visible in any other part of the tree. Ripe cocoanut is outwardly red like copper and so it is called Tryambakaphala. It is called Dṛḍhaphala for its hard outward coating and Sadāphala for the cocoanut tree bears fruit in all seasons. Cocoanut palm is called Māṅgalya for it is thought to be sacred and auspicious in Hindu society in Bengal. Hence it is seldom struck down with an axe. The cocoanut moreover, is the best of all fruits (Varaphala) for it acts like a cloud to thirsty people and hence its name Payodhara[173]. Cocoanut is unique of its kind for it combines within it food in the shape of its kernel and drink in the shape of its water. Its hard exterior and soft watery interior may aptly entitle it to be addressed as—"Vajrādapi kaṭhorāṇi mṛdūni kusumādapi".

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[169] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 373.

[170] See *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 574.

[171] Verse-26.

[172] See *Gauḍalekhamālā*, edited by Akshaya kumar Maitra.

An important role has, therefore, been assigned to cocoanut in Hindu society in Bengal. It is the auspicious symbol of success (suphala) and in all Hindu rites connected with pilgrimage it serves almost invariably as a token of siddhi or suphala. It is, moreover, an indispensable item in the Maṅgalaghaṭa or the auspicious water-pitcher that is kept near the portals of houses or precincts of Pandals during the observance of festivals, or popular social and religious rites in Hindu society in Bengal. The phrase—"Saguvākanārikela", which occurs in numerous copper-plate inscriptions of Bengal, has already been mentioned. As a fruit, nārikela is often conspicuous by its presence among other fruits offered during the worship of Hindu deities in Bengal.

Green cocoanut offers a healthy drink like nectar and the milk of the kernel of ripe cocoanut produces the well-known oil called Nārikelataila or the cocoanut oil. Nārikela is by far the most useful palm. Broom-sticks are made from the sticks of its leaves while the rind of its fruits and its dry leaves are used as fuel. Nārikela daṛi is the name of the string made from the fibre of its rind. With the help of sugar numerous sweets are alike made from the kernel of ripe cocoanut.

Among other varieties of palm in Bengal, mention may similarly be made of the palmyra tree or the Tālavṛkṣa. Tāla is mentioned in the popular Bengali maxim—"Tilke tāl Karā" meaning "to make a mountain of a molehill". It has given its name to a well-known folk-rite or vrata called "Tālanavamī", which is observed down to this day in Hindu society in Bengal.

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[173] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 603.

Tālanavamī is the name of the ninth day in the bright half of the month of Bhādra (i.e. the period roughly extending from the middle of August to the middle of September). The ceremony is so named because the Tāla fruit is the most important item in connection with its observance. Tāla-śāsa or green tāla fruit and its water are alike palatable and conducive to our health. Ripe tāla and fried cakes made from its juice are alike used as food. Tāla is to be taken when the belly is loaded whereas Vilvaphala or Bela is to be partaken in empty stomach. There is a Bengali proverb giving specific instruction to this effect :—"Khālipeṭe bela, bharāpeṭe tāla". Like the date palm, the palmyra (tāla) tree produces sweet juice, which is turned into molasses. In poetic descriptions Tāla is generally associated with Tamāla. There is thus the well-known description of the seacoast as given by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* :—

"Dūrādayaścakranibhasya tanvī tamālatālīvanarājinīlā/
Ābhāti velā lavaṇāmburāśerdhārānibaddheva kalaṅkarekhā//.

Tāla has also given its name to a special type of sugar-candy called—"Tāler michrī". The juice of the palmyra tree (Borassus flabelliformis) is used as a sweet drink and is sometimes transformed into an intoxicating ale called "Tāṛi"[174] Like the papyrus role of Egypt, tālapatra or the broad leaves of the palmyra tree have been used as a material for writing and hence it is called :—"Lekhyapatra"[175].

Early Indian manuscripts are generally found to be either written on palmyra leaves or on Bhūrjapatra, that is to say, the leaves of the birch tree (Betula bhojpatra)[176].

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[174] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, pp. 486 and 491.

[175] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 614.

[176] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 757.

Palmyra leaves are also commonly used in Bengal as hand-fan. Ear-rings made of tender palmyra leaves would be worn by simple Śrotriya, that is, Brāhmin ladies. This is clear from a verse of Umāpatidhara[176] :—

Bālāstālamahīrūho ghanadalasnigdhā gṛhaprāṅgaṇe
sūkṣmebhyastava saṁdiśanti suciraṁ jīva prasanne tvayi/
Karṇālaṅkṛtakena komaladalaṁ muñcanti no nirdayā
niḥsvaśrotriyavallabhāḥ śrutiyuge haimasphuratkuṇḍalāḥ//

Another verse, in the same anthology[178] written by an unknown poet, also shows that average Bengalee ladies would use ear-rings of palmyra leaves :—

Vāsaḥ sūkṣmaṁ vapuṣi bhujayo kāñcanī cāṅgadaśrī-
rmālāgarbhaḥ surabhimasṛṇairgandhatailaiḥ śikhaṇḍaḥ/
Karṇottaṁse navaśaśikalānirmalaṁ tālapatraṁ
veśaḥ keṣāṁ na harati mano vaṅgavārāṅgaṅānām//

Dhoyī in his *Pavanadūtam*[179] also refers to the use of ear-rings made of palmyra leaves by respectable Brāhmaṇa ladies in Western Bengal :—

Gaṅgāvīciplutaparisaraḥ saudhamālāvataṁso
yāsyatyuccaistvayi rasamayo vismayaṁ suhmadeśaḥ/
Śrotrakrīḍābharaṇapadavīṁ bhūmidevāṅganānāṁ
tālīpatraṁ navaśaśikalākomalaṁ yatra yāti//

In a verse of Śubhāṅka in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[180] the palmyra leaf hand fan is asked to take rest during nights in early winter (hemanta) :—

Viśrāmaṁ bhaja tālavṛnta sumanovaikakṣaka kṣamyatāṁ
śrikhaṇḍadravavanditosi sumanohārāḥ punardarśanam/
Dīpe saṁprati karmasākṣiṇi parīrambhāya vāmabhruvām
ekopi prabhavanti haimananiśāyāmā miśāyāminaḥ//

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[177] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, III, 17, 3.

[178] *Ibid*, II, 20, 5.

[179] See Verse 27.

[180] II, 172, 2.

A verse of Dhoyī in his *Pavanadūtam*[181] refers to the practice of writing letters on palmyra leaves :—

Āttaṁ karṇāt praṇihitapadṁ sāñjanairaśruleśai-
rbaddhaṁ tāpaglapitabisinītantunā baṅdhanena/
Yatra strīṇāmadhararucakanyastasindūramudraṁ
tālīpatraṁ praṇayini jane premalekhatvameti//

A similar passage written by the poet Umāpatidhara is found in the *Saduktikarṇamṛta*[182] :—

Kvāpi svedakaṇānipātamasṛṇaṁ kutrāpi kampaskhalat-
pāṇivyastalipi kvacidghanapatadbāṣpāmbuliptākṣaram/
Kvāpi śvāsamahormimarmaramidam tāḍaṅkatāḍīdalaṁ
varṇaireva vinā vyanakti sudṛśo bhāvaikatānaṁ manaḥ//

In the *Rāmacarita*[183] King Rāmapāla is said to have excavated large tanks with lines of palmyra trees standing on their high banks :—

Sa viśālaśailamālā tālabandhamambudhi (ṁ) sākṣāt/
Api pūrtta puṣkariṇībhūtaṁ racayāmbabhūva bhūpālaḥ//

Latātāla or Mahātāla denotes the Hintāla tree. Tāla, Tamāla, Hintāla, Piyāla and Śāla are all of the same category in the sense that they are classed as Mahīrūha or large trees. Hintāla is the marshy date-tree. Tāla, Piyāla and Śāla have already been dealt with. Tamāla or Tamālaka (Xanthochymus Pictorius) is the name of a tree with a very dark bark. Hence it has names like Kṛṣṇaskandha, Kālaskandha, Tamaḥ, Kālatāla, Nīlatāla, nīladhvaja etc.[184] Tāpiñcha or Tapiñja also denotes the Tamāla tree. To the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the Tamāla tree has a special importance. In popular ballads and in the vast Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī literature, Tamāla is, therefore, fondly associated with the various discourses and amorous sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. Tamāla has, accordingly, given its name to a sectarian mark made with Sandal, etc., on the forehead.

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[181] Verse 40.

[182] II, 106. 5.

[183] III, 42.

[184] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 482

Tāpiñcha or Tamāla is mentioned in connection with the description of the smoke of sacrificial fire in the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena[185] and in the Calcutta Sāhitya Parishat Copper-plate inscription[186] of Viśwarūpasena. The river banks are here described as having the appearance of being overgrown with Tamāla trees :—

Tāpiñchaiḥ pariśīliteva saritāṁ kacchasthalīnīradaī-
rnīrandhreva nabhastaṭīmarakataiḥ klṛptā bhuvaḥ kṣmārūhaḥ/
Nīlagrāvakadambakairaviralābhogeva velāvalī-
lekhāsīdadasīyayajñahutabhugdhūmāvalī khelati//

Instead of "Dhūmāvalī khelati", the Calcutta Sāhitya Parishat Copper-plate inscription has :— "Dhūme muhurmūrcchati." Tamāla is also mentioned in a verse of Umāpatidhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[187] :—

Kausumbhaṁ kucakumbhayornivasanaṁ sauvarṇikaṁ karṇayo-
Stāḍaṅkadvayamāñjanī nayanayorālekhyalekhālipiḥ/
Kāśmīreṇa tamālapatramalike haimī kare kaṅkaṇa-
śreṇiḥ pāśayituṁ jagantyalamalaṅkārāḥ kuraṅgīdṛśaḥ//

Tamāla is again, mentioned by the same poet in the same work[188]. The spring bee is here described as having the delightful appearance of a pleasant Tamāla tree :—

Āraktāyatapuṣpabāṇanayane snigdhāñjanaśyāmikāṁ
Kāśmīrāruṇakarṇikārakusumottaṁse mahānīlatām/
Unmīlattilakāntare mṛgamadakṣodārdrabindūpamāṁ
dhatte mugdhatamālakānti madhupīvṛndaṁ vasantaśriyaḥ//

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[185] Verse—19.

[186] Verse—20.

[187] II, 109, 2.

[188] II, 156, 1.

Śāla (Shorea robusta) and Tāla (Palmyra) are similarly mentioned in several versss in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam*. Thus in connection with the description of the tops or summits (Vaḍabhī) of lofty mansions or palaces (saudha) of Vijayapura, the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena, the poet Dhoyī[189] informs us that they were adorned with "Śālabhañjī", that is to say, handsome dolls made of Śāla or other wood. The beauties of the city assembled on such house-tops could scarcely be distinguished for their close proximity and similarity to these attractive dolls :—

> Yatsaudhānāmupari vaḍabhīśālabhañjīṣu līnāḥ
> susnigdhāsu prakṛtimadhurāḥ kelikautūhalena/
> Unnīyante kathamapi rahaḥpāṇipaṅkeruhāgra-
> sparśodgacchatpulakamukulāḥ subhruvo vallabhena//

Reference to fan made of palmyra leaf is found in the following verse :—

> Sambhogānte ślathabhujalatānissahānāṁ badhūnāṁ
> vyādhunvanto'nucitakavarībhāramavyājamugdham/
> Asmin sadyaḥ śramajalanudaḥ saudhajālairupstya
> pratyāsannā malayamarutastālavṛntībhavanti[190]//

The following verse shows the use of palmyra leaves for recording love letters :—

> Dhatte sadyastvadupagamitapremalekhabhramaṁ sā
> tālīpatre priyasahacarīkarṇapāśacyutes'pi/
> Kiñca krīḍāśukamapi muhuḥ pṛcchati tvatpravṛttiṁ
> gāḍhodbhūtaḥ kva khalu gaṇayatyanvayaṁtvarthi-
> bhāvaḥ[191]

Palmyra leaf fan is again mentioned in the following lines :—

> Dveṣaḥ krīḍāvipinavasatau candanāmbhoniṣedhaḥ
> pratyākhyānaṁ sarasanalinītālavṛntānilasya/

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[189] *Pavanadūtam*, Verse 37.

[190] *Pavanadūtam*, Verse 9.

[101] *Pavanadūtam*, Verse 68.

> Jātastasyāṁ kathamapi sakhībuddhijastvadviyoge
> mūrcchāvegavyapagamavidhereṣa eva prakāraḥ[192]//

Ear-rings made of golden palmyra leaves are alike referred to in the following verse :—

> Sā vairasyādasitanayanā hematālīdalānāṁ
> pratyākhyānāt prakṛtisubhagaṁ karṇapāśaṁ vibhartti/
> Tadgātrāṇām kimapi sahasā durbalatvaṁ vicintya
> tyaktaṁ trāsād guṇamiva manojanmanā kārmukasya[193]//

Like Tamāla, the kadamba tree is associated with the amorous play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Kadamba (Anthocephalus Kadamba or Nauclea Kadamba) is accordingly named Haridriya. It has fragrant flowers, which are charming in shape like round balls. Hence it is called surabhiḥ and vṛttapuṣpaḥ. It is dear to women (lalanāpriyaḥ) and hence it is justly regarded as a rival of the Aśoka tree (aśokāriḥ). It has other names like Nīpa, Halipriya, Sīdhupuīṣpa, etc.[194] Kelikadamba (Nauclea cordifolia) is the name of a particular class or variety of the Kadamba tree. Kadamba is mentioned in the concluding portion called Kavipraśasti in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam*[195]. The poet prays that his poetical work, namely *Pavanadūtam*, might endure as long as the Kadamba tree would stand and bear witness to the amorous pastime of Kṛṣṇa with numerous young maidens headed by Rādhā :—

> "Yāvacchaṁbhurvahati girijāsaṁvibhaktaṁ śarīraṁ
> yāvajjaitraṁ kalayati dhanuḥ kausumaṁ puṣpaketuḥ/
> yāvadrādhāramaṇa-taruṇīkelisākṣī Kadamba-
> stāvajjīyāt kavinarapatereṣa vācāṁ vilāsaḥ//

Kadamba is also mentioned in the Chittagong Copper-plate inscription[196] of Dāmodara[197]. The goddess Lakṣmī is described as being roused from her sleep in early morning by the caress of the God Dāmodara with the words that dawn has set in and the gentle breeze is blowing with the fragrance of Kadamba flowers :—

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[192] *Pavanadūtam*, Verse 72.

[193] *Pavanadūtam*, Verse 87.

[194] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 195.

[195] Verse 103.

[196] Verse I.

[197] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 158—63.

Devi prātaravehi nandanavanānmandaḥ kadambānilo
vāti vyastakaraḥ śaśīti kṛtakenālāpya kautūhalī/
Tatkālaskhaladaṅgabhaṅgimacalāmālingya Lakṣmīmbalā
dālolānanabimbacumbanaparaḥ prīṇātu Dāmodaraḥ//

There is even now the customary belief in Hindu society in Bengal that womenfolk especially married ladies are the earthly representations of the Goddess of Fortune (kulalakṣmī) meant for the good of family life. Housewives are, therefore, thought to be the life and soul of household life :—"Gṛhiṇī gṛhamucyate". They are supposed to be the mainstay of family life, the generators and upholders of its traditions. The peace and prosperity, the integrity and sanctity of a Hindu family are, therefore, supposed to depend largely on the diligent care and affection of the mistress of the family with her steadfast devotion towards her husband combined with modesty and tact, fellow-feeling and ungrudging service towards others. It has, therefore, been the custom for a married lady (kulastrī) in Hindu society in Bengal to get up from her bed early in the morning and engage herself in household duties[198]. Some of these ideals are reflected in a verse of Rājaśekhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[199] :—

Abhyutthānamupāgate gṛhapatau tadbhāṣaṇe namratā
tatpādārpitadṛṣṭirāsanatridhistasyopacaryā svayam/
Supte tatra śayīta tatprathamato jahyācca śayyāmiti
prācyaiḥ putri niveditāh kulabadhūsiddhāntadharmā amī//

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[198] See "*A Retrospective study of Indian womanhood*, Calcutta Review, December, 1939.

[199] II, 11, 3.

The first and foremost item in the every day routine of business for a housewife in a Hindu household in Bengal is to see that the dirt and dust are cleared with broomstick at dawn and all such clean spots sprinkled with water usually mixed with holy cowdung so that the Fortune Goddess may have her peep within the precincts of such a sacred homestead. At daybreak it has been the usual custom in a Hindu household in Bengal to wash and clean the cattle-shed by removing all night-soil. Cows and other household animals are usually brought outside the adjoining household cattle-shed and kept in the open air for being milked and then allowed to graze freely in the open meadow under the care of a cowherd who tends the flock. A verse written by an unknown poet[200] gives an interesting account of an early morning scene in an average domestic cow-house in Bengal. After removing the belts, the door of the cow-shed is being opened while ladies of the household are proceeding with waterpots in their hands :—

Upanihitahalīṣāsārgaladvārabhārāt
paricakitapurandhrīsāritābhyarṇabhāṇḍam/
Pavanarayatīraścirvāridhārāḥ pratīcchan-
viśati valitaśṛṅgaḥ pāmarāgāramukṣā//

The following verse similarly written by an unknown poet[201] gives a fine description of an average milkman milking a cow :—

Aṅguṣṭhāgrimavakitāṇgulirasau pādārdhanīruddhabhūḥ,
pārśvodvegakṛto nihatya kaphaṇidvandvena
daṁśānmuhuḥ
Nyagjānudvayayantrayantritaghaṭīvaktrāntarodhas-
khala-
ddhāṛadhvānamanoharaṁsakhi payo gāṁ dogdhi
gopālakaḥ//

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[200] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V. 3, 4.

[201] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V. 1, 1.

Another verse from the pen of an unknown poet[202] similarly holds before us the picture of a cowherd tending his flock in the morning :—

Karṇābhyarṇāriśṛṅgakṣatirudhirarasāsvādanābaddha-
gardha-
dhvāṅkṣacchāyāttabhītipratihatadhavalīvargasaṁvardha-
necchuḥ/
Śilatyākruddhagopīlaguḍahatinamatpṛṣṭhavaṁśaḥ
kathañcit
prātaḥ kedāranīraṁ halamadalabhiyā kūṇitākṣo
mahokṣaḥ//

A similar reference to the use of 'gomaya', that is, cowdung, which is even now extensively used in Hindu society in Bengal as a sacred sanctifying object for the purification of all impurities, is found in a verse of Narasiṁham in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[203] :—

Pratyagragomayaviliptavitardikāni
pūrṇāhutipravalavahni śikhāśatāni/
Suśrūṣamāṇamṛgalocanakanyakāni
tānyadya tāpasavanāni mano haranti//

Cowdung is also used for the worship of the God Nārāyaṇa. A housewife in a Hindu family, according to the best traditions of this land, should thus not only be hard-working and dutiful in the discharge of her obligation in household life, she should at the same time have the will to live and let others live like herself. There is even now the custom commonly followed in Hindu society in Bengal that as soon as a newly-married bride enters the family of her husband, she is tempted to pick up as many cowrie shells, as she likes, which are kept scattered before her eyes. These cowrie shells symbolise the existing wealth or ancestral riches of the family of her husband and so she is not allowed to take more than her legitimate share. It has, therefore, been a common social rite in Hindu society in Bengal that while she picks up those cowrie shells indiscriminately, her husband's younger brothers (devara) strike her with the thorny branch of a jujube tree (karkandhū). The obvious object is to dissuade her from her selfish quests and avaricious motives. By this mild punishment she is thus allowed to have a salutary lesson in family life at the very outset. Karkandhū (Zizyphus Jujuba) or the plum tree is mentioned in a verse written by an unknown poet in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[204] :—

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[202] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V. 3, 5.

[203] V. 66, 1.

Śamīṣaṇḍastāvatkhadiravanamasmācca parata-
stato baddhvolīnāmapi gahanamutkīṭavirutam/
Itaḥ karkandhūnām vanamanu yavāsasthalamidam
kva kalyāṇaḥ panthāḥ pathika hatadeśo marurayam//

Karkandhu or Karkandhū usually denotes smaller type of plums[205]. Khadira is Acacia catechu while Ṣaṇḍa is the collective name of a group of trees or plants[206]. Śamī is the same as prosopie spicigera or Mimosa Suma[207]. Yavāsa or yavāsaka (Alhagi maurorum or Medysaram Alhagi) is the name of a plant usually called the camel's thorn[208].

Lākṣātaru is the name of a tree (Butea Frondosa). It also denotes the red Lodhra tree. Lākṣā usually denotes lac. Lākṣārasa or Alakta is the name of a kind of red dye, which is obtained from the resin of Lākṣātaru. This red dye has largely been in use among women in Hindu society in Bengal. It is used as an article of decoration for the soles of the feet and lips by unmarried girls and more especially by married ladies whose husbands are alive (Sadhavā). Besides this there are three other characteristic emblems or objects especially used by such married ladies in Bengal whose husbands are alive. These are the vermilion mark in the partition of the hair of their head, the iron wristlet and the bracelet made of conchshell which they wear in their hand. The vermilion mark in the partition of the hair of her head and the red dye (Lākṣārasa) used as a paint for her lips resembling Bimba fruits are alike mentioned in connection with the description of such a married lady in a verse of Sāñcādhara, a poet of Bengal in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[209] :

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[204] IV, 59, 1.

[205] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 217.

[206] Macdonell, *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

[207] Macdonell, *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

[208] *Vaidyaka-Śabdasindhu*, p. 854.

> Amlānastavakanti kuntalabhare sīmantasīmāsvimāḥ
> Sindūranti kapolabhittiṣu milanmaireyarāganti ca
> prauḍherṣyādyutivibhramanti nayanopānte kuraṅgīdṛśāṁ
> bimboṣṭhe kṣitipāla bālataraṇerlākṣārasanti tviṣaḥ//

Dharmayogeśvara, another Bengalī poet[210], similarly, refers to the use of the red dye (lākṣārasa) for the decoration of the soles of the feet[211]: —

> Chinnārdhorukamekhalaṁ caraṇayoḥ saṁkrāntalākṣārasaṁ
> talpopāntamudīkṣya sasmitasakhīvailakṣyasaṁbhrāntayā/
> Taṅvangyā dṛḍhadaṁśadanturadarocchūnādharotsaṅgayā
> kṣiptāḥ preyasi kūṭakopakuṭilabhrūvibhramā dṛṣṭayaḥ//

A verse of *Adbhutasāgara*[212], which is ascribed to King Vallālasena of Bengal[213], similarly refers to the use of vermilion by married ladies in Hindu society in Bengal :—

> Kiṁ lakṣmyā tulayāmi kātaraśataṁ pāntyā nṛṇāṁṛtaṁ śūraṁ
> lakṣāpyājivicumbitāṁ sa sakalaṁ dhatte sudossampadam/
> Yasyāṅghriḥ patibhaikṣyakākuviluṭhadvidveṣinārīśiraḥ
> sindūrotkaramudrito janalipirnirmuktiyantraṁ dviṣhām//

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[209] III, 33, 4.

[210] See *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, Introduction.

[211] *Ibid*, II, 136, 3.

[212] Verse 5.

[213] See Muralidhar Jha's Edition, pp. 1—47.

A verse of Vāmadeva[214] similarly gives the picture of fashionable maidens with the finger nails of their feet painted with red dye :—

> Kimetāḥ svacchandaṁ vitathaśapathoktīrvitanuṣe,
> bhajethāstāmeva priyasahacarīṁ cittamadhurāṁ/
> yathā yācñānamre tava śirasi saubhāgyagarima-
> praśastirnyasteyaṁ caraṇanakhalākṣārasamayī//

Another Bengali poet, named Śaraṇa[215], gives an interesting account of a busy housewife in an ordinary Hindu household in Bengal. A married lady is here described as lifting pitchers filled with water from an adjoining well with the help of ropes. While thus engaged the bracelets made of conchshell which she wears in her hands become slack and loose from their knot of string and produce a jingling sound :—

> Rajjukṣeparayonnamadbhujalatāvyaktaikapārśvastanī,
> sūtracchedavilolaśaṅkhavalayaśreṇījhaṇatkāriṇī//
> Tiryagvistṛtapīvaroruyugalā pṛṣṭhānativyākṛtā
> bhogaśroṇirudasyatī pratimuhuḥ kūpādapaḥ pāmarī//

Iron being the hardest and the most rigid of all metals, the iron wristlet may be taken as an emblem of fidelity in conjugal life. The obvious object is to induce a married lady in Hindu society in Bengal whose husband is alive, to be steadfast and firm like the iron, unwavering and unflinching in her devotion towards her husband. The iron wristlet may also be taken as a symbol of permanence and durability of life long unity, that is to say, serenity and perpetuity in conjugal relations. In the same way, the bracelet made of conchshell may justly be regarded as a veritable badge of purity and chastity, of honesty and integrity of mind and body. Fame is generally conceived as white[216].

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[21] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 24, 3. [215] *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V. 1, 4.
[216] Cf. "yaśasi dhavalatā"—Daṇḍī.

The milk-white colour of conchshell may thus be interpreted as an indication of good name and reputation, of innocence and simplicity, of cleanliness of mind and body, of moral grandeur and physical purity. To a member of the holy khālsā, that is, the sikh brotherhood, the simple iron bangle is an unmistakable sign of hard military life which they have to lead. It is thus a part of their five K's (Keśa, Kṛpāṇa, Kanghā, Kaccha, etc.) which they wear for their unending crusade against infidels. To a married Bengalee Hindu lady it is a symbol of her jugate existence,—her proudest role and most covetable phase of womanhood in life. A loving bond, a sweet tie of conjugal life,—it is to her a thing of pride and glory for it proves the co-existence of her partner and as such serves as a label to distinguish her from virgins and widows. Married ladies in a Hindu family husking rice in moonlight with bracelets in their hands are described in a verse of Śaraṇa in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[217] :—

Etāscandrodayesminnaviralamusalotkṣepadolāyamāna-
snigdhasyāmāgrapīnastanakalaśanamatkaṇṭhanālāgraramyāḥ/
Udvelladbāhuvallīpracalitavalayaśreṇayaḥ pāmarāṇāṁ
gehinyo dīrghagītidhvanijanitasukhāstaṇḍulān kaṇḍayanti//

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[217] V. 1, 3.

SOME BROAD ASPECTS ON INDIAN GRAMMAR AND THE THEORY OF SPHOṬA

By Śrī R. S. Bhaṭṭācharya

The uniqueness of Indian grammar lies in its scientific interpretation. The science of grammar has been treated exhaustively as well as compartmentally. The whole body of grammar is described as :—

'चत्वारि श्रृंगास्त्रयोऽस्य पादाः द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासोऽस्य'

The science of grammar is represented here as a bull which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands. Its proper interpretation would be as follows :—

Four horns stand for four component parts of speech namely, नाम, आख्यात, उपसर्ग and निपात; three feet for three tenses (past, present and future) and two heads and seven hands symbolise respectively, two kinds of पद (सुबन्त and तिङन्त) or नित्य and कार्य शब्द and seven case endings.

As regards the meaning of नाम or संज्ञा, some hold that it means only one thing i.e. व्यक्ति or जाति. Some say that both these are signified by a noun. Some maintain that व्यक्ति, जाति and gender all are included in a noun. The fourth school says number even is denoted by it. The fifth school even includes कारक under this head and thus five things are expressed by a नाम.

Then comes आख्यात, meaning a verb which is responsible for constituting a वाक्य or sentence. Without verbs, like अस्ति etc., no sense can be derived from a sentence, therefore, it plays a very important part in it. The verb or root in itself is not capable of being used in a sentence unless it has an inflection. Therefore, by analysing a verb we find the combination of two meanings, the sense of root and that of the inflection.

According to the Grammarians, a root signifies two things, namely, action and the fruit or result of action and the verbal termination conveys the sense of its substratum. Action or व्यापार is defined as भावनाभिधा साध्यत्वेनाभिधेयमाना क्रिया.

An action is that which is going to be accomplished. The वाक्यपदीय says :—

यावत् सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेनाभिधीयते।
आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात् सा क्रियेत्यभिधीयते॥

Verbs are of two kinds : (a) accomplished and (b) yet to be accomplished. The example of the first kind is पाकः; it is dependent upon something else for conveying the full sense. In पाकः and पचति both पच् is the basic root, but here the act of cooking is accomplishable with the help of another verb. In पचति the notion of accomplishability does not depend upon another verb. फल comes out from the series of acts included in व्यापार, फल or result resorts to the very conception of कर्म; it is clear that कर्म is the आश्रय of फल (whenever we undertake any task, say cooking, there is some object which is connected with the effort, and known as an effect). So the second type of verb is the तिङन्त finite one. It must have the sense of being accomplished and it must be accomplished gradually.

In other words, व्यापार or action consists of several inseparable parts, conceptually considered as an undifferentiated whole that attains a desired end in a fixed and gradual order. It is that action only which is denoted by the साध्य verb or the verb which is in the course of accomplishment. It is immaterial here whether the क्रिया denotes past, present or future.

In the case of पाकः, although the basic root is the same, the addition of कृत् suffix puts a stop to its course of accomplishment and therefore, it stands in the logical expectancy of क्रिया, while पचति brings the sense of क्रियान्तराकांक्षानुत्थापना. व्यापार is not a solitary act but it means a series of acts which are necessary for bringing about the desired result, i.e.

conducive to the result विक्लित्ति, meaning, softening of rice.

In देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति, the action पच् involves acts of फूत्कार अधःसन्तापन, चुल्युपरिस्थापन etc. which are necessary to bring about the desired effect. Action and the fruit of the verb do not exist in the same thing (in a सकर्मकधातु); the former lies in कर्ता and the latter in कर्म, Though both these are the meaning of the root, व्यापार is always predominant and फल is an attribute to it. In देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति, देवदत्त is the अभिहितकर्ता who is expressed through the verb and thus, forms the substratum of action. ओदनं is the कर्म according to अनभिहिते कर्मणि द्वितीया and is the substratum of फल in the form of विक्लित्ति.

So we find, that as the notion of कर्ता (in देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति) is expressed through the verb, it is a कर्तृवाच्य sentence and व्यापार predominates here. When this very sentence is changed into कर्मवाच्य and कर्म being अभिहित or expressed, it attains the character of कर्ता (though originally a कर्म), it is a कर्मवाच्य sentence. The sentence is then changed into देवदत्तेन ओदनं पच्यते.

So for the significance of धातु or root only is dealt with. आख्यातs or verbal suffixes like तिङ etc. also have four meanings, namely, कर्ता, कर्म, संख्या and काल. These four do not come at the same time. In कर्तृवाच्य the कर्ता or agent and in कर्मवाच्य the object or कर्म is expressed through the verb. So in the former we find कर्ता, काल, and संख्या and in the latter कर्म, काल and संख्या. संख्या or number qualifies कर्ता in the कर्तृवाच्य and कर्म in the कर्मवाच्य.

काल qualifies व्यापार only, otherwise, changes like पचति, अपाक्षीत्, पक्ष्यति etc. would have been impossible.

The conclusion drived from all these is that according to the Grammarians a धातु has got व्यापारप्रधानप्रतीति, i.e. व्यापार dominates over फल, तिङर्थs, all. फल occupies only a secondary position (in active voice) so the verbal knowledge according to the Grammarians, (in देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति,) is एकदेवदत्तकर्तृकवर्तमानकालिकविक्लित्त्यनुकूलो व्यापारः.

The verbal knowledge of the Nyāya school is quite different from that of the Grammarians. According to this school, the root signifies फल and व्यापार and तिङ suffixes signify कृति or यत्न. It is an additional factor acknowledged in this system. व्यापार, of course, is here still यत्न or कृति is to be invented. कृति is almost akin to व्यापार, but it goes deeper than व्यापार, because, व्यापार means only physical exertion and यत्न means the impulse of the inner self. कर्ता or कर्म is never acknowledged to have been expressed through the root, but कृति only. फल is here included in व्यापार and has got no separate existence. There are काल and संख्या also, but they are given a subordinate position. यत्न is at the root of व्यापार and gives rise to the latter. The sense of the first case predominates the verbal knowledge of the Naiyāyikas. The form of the verbal knowledge is as fallows : विक्लित्त्यनुकूलव्यापारानुकूलकृतिवान् देवदत्त:

According to the Mīmāṁsakas, a root means फल and आख्यात signifies भावना or energy. Both in the Nyāya and Mīmāmsā schools the meaning of the suffixes predominates and therefore, the प्रतीति is भावनाप्रधान.

Suffixes, like तङ यक् चिण् etc. in कर्मवाच्य and श्नम् etc. in कर्तृवाच्य, signify their respective substrata i.e. कर्म and कर्ता.

This is a general rule, but it does not apply everywhere, because it does not hold good in कर्मकर्तृवाच्य.

In the शाब्दबोध of the मीमांसक the ति of पचति signifies भावना. This भावना is synonymous with व्यापार or उत्पादना.

One fatal defect is sure to creep in all verbs if the यत्नप्रधानप्रतीति of the Nyāya School is acknowledged. In this प्रतीति fall has got no separate existence and such being the case there is the possibility of all the verbs getting intransitive and there will be no कर्मवाच्य at all. In पचति if the suffix ति denotes always करोति or यत्न (according to the Naiyāyikas), it can never be पच्यते and must bring the sense of ओदनं always, through the verb.

In कर्मकर्तृवाच्य the agent itself acts as an object. There is an identification between the two. There being no difference between कर्ता and कर्म it attains a peculiar feature as in पच्यते ओदनं स्वयमेव. Such objects are invented with some special purpose in view.

Objects of verbs can be of three kinds, namely, निर्वर्त्य, विकार्य and प्राप्य. In निर्वर्त्य, something new is accomplished as घटं करोति. In विकार्य some change is brought about as in ओदनं पचति and a प्राप्य कर्म ever remains the same e.g. घटं पश्यति. So the first two can act for कर्म and thus कर्मकर्तृवाच्य is formed. The last one can never be the object of a कर्मकर्तृवाच्य sentence.

All these show that the meaning of a verb comes through the root and not through the तिङन्त suffix. That is why we find the sense of action in such cases, where the suffixes are कृदन्त. पक्ववान् is the substitute for पक्वं कृतवान्. Again, we find the answer of the question किं कृतम् ? as पक्कम्. If तिङन्त suffixes only are meant to denote the sense of action, how पक्व conveys the sense of पाकः कृतः ? The कृ of कृतः being the meaning of तिङ only as the Naiyāyikas hold such sense cannot be expressed.

In an अकर्मक or intransitive धातु also there is भावना or व्यापार for the achievement of what is to be achieved. The शाब्दबोध of this can be भावनानुकूलो व्यापारः. But it does not appear so because कर्ता and कर्म both lie in the same substratum.

If it is established that the root and suffix both denote action then how are we to explain it properly ? The answer would be that one part will form the attribute of another as in पश्य, मृगो धावति. पश्य is the main verb, but the clause मृगो धावति restricts the sentence.

A verb is connected with a सम्बोधन, the suffix कृत्वः or like things, कारकs, the प्रथमान्तवत्, suffix the नम् included in a समस्तवाक्य, सप्तमी according to यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणं or षष्ठी चानादरे.

These are the signicances of धातु according to the Grammarians. Old Grammarians used to differ from the new ones by saying that धात्वर्थ is predominated by व्यापार only.

There is a lot of controversy about the significance of Nipātas and Upasargas. It is maintained both by the Grammarians and the Naiyāyikas that Upasargas etc. have not got their denoted sense but the function of Upasargas is then to manifest or give prominence to the latent meanings of roots. It is held that a root possesses many and varied meanings in it, but they are suggested by particular Upasargas, which themselves have no specific sense. They serve only the purpose of symbols of indication. To make it clear verbs like भू and कृ and have got many meanings lying dormant in them and the function of the Upasargas, like प्र, अधि, etc., is to manifest or give prominence to those latent meanings. The particular sense that is attributed to Upasargas is essentially the meaning of the root itself. That verbal roots have more than one meaning is well known by the statement, यागात् स्वर्गो भवति. Here भू does not mean 'to become', as in general, but to produce.

Without admitting this we cannot reasonably explain उपास्येते हरिहरौ. It is used in the कर्मणि लकार and अस्, an intransitive verb, can neither be changed into the passive and nor can it govern the accusative case in हरिहर. So it should be regarded that the sense of उपास् (with its transitive character) lies within the root and the उपसर्गs suggest it. The illustration would be a jar and its manifestation by light. The jar is already there; it is not the attribute of the lamp, but it is only revealed by it. Thus, the intransitive verb takes up the character of the transitive by the expressed meaning of the root, what is indicated by the Upasarga, in its turn.

The absence of the expressive sense in an Upasarga is proved in another way. It is as follows:

Had it possessed the denoted sense at all, प्र which is the abridged form of प्रकर्ष could as well convey the full sense. For example, शोभनप्र could express शोभन-प्रकर्ष which is far from the fact. So both the schools (the Naiyāyikas and the Grammarians) hold that Upasargas are only suggestors or impliers, that is, तात्पर्यग्राहकs.

Koṇḍabhaṭṭa holds that in like manner, intransitive verbs are used in कर्मणि वाच्य in connction with निपातs and in like manner, निपातs (as उपसर्गs) are regarded as attributes of the sense of the verb or anything related. This can be illustrated by the example of अलंकरोति, साक्षात् करोति etc.

It is a point where the Naiyāyikas differ from the Grammarians. The Naiyāyikas hold that Nipātas have got their expressive sense whereas Upasargas alone are the indicators of the sense of the verbal root. They base their theory on the ground of the independent use of the words अलं, साक्षात् etc. But the Grammarians, on the contrary, hold that Upasargas are included in Nipātas and therefore both have got the same nature. च is the brief form of समुच्चय, but does this sense come through च alone ? Does शोभनञ्च mean शोभनसमुच्चय ? धवश्च खदिरश्च when amplified is धवस्य समुच्चयः and खदिरस्य समुच्चय : Here समुच्चय cannot and does not come in समानाधिकरणता with धवस्य and thus, creates an anomaly. Like meanings get connected with like words and there is no reason of thinking that the rule is applicable only in the case of words other than Nipātas.

In 'शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव' etc. too a great anomaly is created in this way, because put in synonymous words, it becomes उस्रसदृशैः शरैः and when सदृश is removed and इव retakes its former place, its instrumental is nothing but absurd and incorrect.

Two heads are two kinds of inflective words and they are verbal roots with their terminations and nominal bases with their terminations or नित्य (eternal) and कार्य (articulated) शब्द. The meanings of nominal suffixes are as follows :

The accusative, the instrumental and the locative are the abode or substratum of the fruit of action. In देवदत्त: ओदनं पचति, the resting place or resort of विक्लित्ति which results from the action पचति is ओदनम्. Thus the meaning of ओदनं पचति would be ओदनाभिन्नाश्रयवृत्तिविक्लित्त्यनुकूलो व्यापार:. This does not form the part of the verbal knowledge the इप्सिततमम्. In लगुडेन ताडयति, लगुड forms the resting-place of the ताडनानुकूलो व्यापार:. It signifies that करण is that on whose immediate operation the result arises. In स्थाल्यां पचति it is amplified as स्थाल्याधिकृत-ओदनाश्रयो व्यापार:. आधार: is अधिकरणं and there must be some time and place that attain क्रियाश्रयत्वं (while तृतीया attains व्यापाराश्रयत्वं and द्वितीया क्रियाजन्यफलाश्रयत्वम्. अवधि or starting point of action is expressed through the termination of पञ्चमी. For instance, in वृक्षात् पतति, 'वृक्ष' is the starting point of the action 'पतन'. In चतुर्थी the aim of action is expressed through the case-termination. For instance, in 'ब्राह्मणाय गां ददाति' the action of giving is aimed at the Brāhmaṇa. The termination is applied to that thing or person which is the object of the action of giving something abandoning ones own claim altogether and investing another with full right over it, स्वस्वत्वप्रतिनिवृत्तिपूर्वकपरस्वत्वारोप:. Relation is expressed through षष्ठी.

There is another school of Grammarians, which does not hold that धर्मि only (the resting place of attribute only) i.e. आश्रयत्व, अवधित्व etc., is expressed through terminations. They hold that धर्म itself, i.e. the essential attribute too underlying धर्मिन् is expressed through the termination. In वृक्षात् पतति they do not think the termination to be the starting-point of something separated from it, but the termination signifies the very process of action i.e. being detatched.

The theory of Sphoṭa is a unique achievement of Indian Grammarians and forms India's outstanding contribution to the philosophy of language. This theory has interpreted the real origin of speech. It attempts to explain the psycho-physiological operations involved in vocalising thought.

The minute study of the externals of language—of sound of words and their formation of sentences and their construction paved the way for the internals of language. In other countries phonetic science is concerned with articulated sound only but our native Grammarians with an inquisitive and speculative turn of mind speculated on the stages passing on within even before articulation.

When the heart is stimulated by coming in contact with a certain stimulus, some impulse is roused and a certain air is pushed upwards within our body. Thus, the imperceptible वाक् comes gradually to the range of perception. The air known as परा is pushed up from मूलाधार i.e. from the region of navel. Then it reaches the heart and takes the name पश्यन्ती. In the third stage, it comes to the throat and is known as मध्यमा and lastly, it comes to the mouth and being spoken out, becomes audible. Thislast form called वैखरी is heard by everyone and this only had evoked all speculation in Western countries.

The Indian philosophy of language seeks to answer the question how words convey their ideas. It says it is the whole word that conveys the idea and not the parts i.e. the sounds and they themselves do not carry any significance. Sphoṭa or mind consciousness is नित्य and forms the real germ of speech. The former is first comprehended and this comprehended and audible sound conveys the meaning. कार्यशब्दs i.e. articulate sounds, act on the sense organs and manifest स्फोट or नित्यशब्द. Therefore the audible sound removes the garment of स्फोट and then it reveals its existence through the medium of sound. Sphoṭa represents what is शब्द proper, whereas sound is only a quality, that is, it serves only to manifest Sphoṭa. The relation is therefore one of the indicator and indicated.

But the question is how अखण्डस्फोट is to be accepted, when वैखरी is expressed through वर्ण, पद and अर्थ. The answer would be that they are the means of grasping स्फोट

but they are not स्फोट itself. It is an undisputed fact that शब्द is eternal, but क्‌कार, ग्‌कार etc. and ह्रस्व इ, दीर्घ ई etc. are produced by the superimposition of a conjunction of throat, palate etc. on that eternal internal, indivisible sound. How is क्‌कार different from ग्‌कार? Is the internal sound divided? No. The internal sound which is recognised as शब्द ब्रह्म is one and the same only. उपाधि or external attributes represent it at different times but at the same time उपाधि is अनित्य or unreal.

Thus, वर्णस्फोटs, पदस्फोटs etc. are discarded. Individual स्फोट too is not to be accepted. Does a man comprehend an individual घट and is at a loss and cannot recognise it when he happens to see another at another time? No. But he comprehends it to be a घट as it is one member of the जाति of घट. That suggests that there is one common property or जाति which is present in every घट and thus, a lot of labour for recognising each and every घट separately is saved and a possibility of confusion and perplaxity are saved.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD FOR THE YEAR 1956-57

For and on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad I present the following report on the working of the Institute for the year ending March 31, 1957.

Completion of the construction of the building and equipping it with necessary furniture have been the more important items for the Institute during the year under review. Expansion of our activities could not be undertaken for want of sufficient rooms. Luckily, the Union Government gave us a non-recurring grant of Rs. 10,000/- which enabled us to take up the construction of the ground floor North Wing of the building. The Wing is now almost complete. Efforts were made to get the compound cleared and decorated in a suitable manner in order to have an attractive sight round about the Institute building. Besides, we were able to appoint Sri V. Hanumanthachar, M.A., retired Librarian of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, as Librarian-cum-Curator. He has been able to arrange and classify all the published books of the Library in a scientific manner. His long experience of Library work and devotion to literary studies have been helpful to the Institute in more than one way. We have also appointed an experienced mālī who has done good work and I am glad to say that the compound now presents a good sight.

But still much remains to be done. The construction of the underground chamber, main hall, upper floor of the main building and quarters for our employees is very necessary. The lower grade employees have to remain without any shelter in the rains and hot weather. We have also felt great difficulty in getting sufficient water for the needs of the Institute for which we urgently need a well with an electric pump.

It is known to the members that these days it is very difficult to attract students for research work in any Institution without the award of a scholarship or a research degree. Unfortunately, our Institution is neither able to award more than one scholarship nor any doctorate degree. Under the circumstances, it is most essential that the Government should be approached to give grants for awarding more scholarships.

At present we have only one Research scholar Sri A. S. Nataraja Ayyar who is working on the Social History of Ancient India with special reference to Dharmaśāstra and Mīmāmsā and his term expires on the 31st of March, 1958. His work is almost complete.

The next important item in the activities of the Institute is the publication of rare and important works. I may inform the members that the Institute has manuscripts of several rare and important works. We have recently discovered in our collection an important and a very rare manuscript of a work of Madhusūdana Saraswatī on the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*. We are preparing a press copy of it and if funds are available, we hope to publish it soon.

The members are aware that the Institute has its own schemes for Research work which can be undertaken only when adequate funds become available and more research scholars are appointed. We have now sufficient rooms where scholars can work with facility. At present we have to be content with the publication of the Research Journal, the 15th volume of which is in the press.

The printed books of the Library number about 6000 and they are mainly in Sanskrit with a few books in Hindi, English and Iranian Languages. So far as Sanskrit is concerned we have important works of most of the Śāstras; but modern researches have thrown much light on ancient Indian Literature and Culture, and critical books have been published in large numbers. It is necessary that our Institute should be equipped with all the published Sanskrit texts and the modern publications for the use of Research scholars. A large grant is necessary for the said purpose.

Only a few books received for being reviewed in our Journal have been added to the Library this year. The Library is getting 125 journals on exchange basis and also as free gifts from various Institutions in India and abroad as before.

The Librarian who joined the Institute on the 19th of September, 1956 has accessioned, classified, arranged the printed books and prepared descriptive slips for them according to the Dewy system of classification with the necessary modifications to suit our needs. Card Index has to be prepared and cards have to be arranged alphabetically in the index cabinet.

The examination of the manuscripts is in progress and the Pandit has been able to examine the bundles of manuscripts and classify over 6000 manuscripts so far. The Librarian is also devoting sufficient time to this section and it is expected that proper classification of the manuscripts also will be completed before long.

It has not been possible to add fresh manuscripts to the section as yet during the year under review; but we are in correspondance with several persons who have promised to give us their manuscript collection.

The Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India visited our Institute and held its sittings in the buildings of the Institute. It was possible for the Institute to accomodate them and help them to carry on their activities in the Institute building.

The total number of members during the year under review was as follows as compared with the previous years.

1954-55	135 Life Members	70 Annual members	total	205
1955-56	133 ,, ,,	70 ,, ,,	,,	203
1956-57	132 ,, ,,	76 ,, ,,	,,	208

There were seven meetings of the Executive Committee during the year under report.

The accounts of the Institute have been duly audited by the Government auditors as usual and their remarks were duly attended to and noted for future guidance.

From what has been said above, it would be clear as to what the Institute has been doing and what its immediate needs are. In order to emphasise their urgency, I repeat them here so that the members will exert their best to help in the fulfilment of the needs of the Institute.

1. Completion of the building.
2. Purchase of up to date books.
3. Purchase of necessary furniture.
4. Collection of manuscripts.
5. Providing more research Scholarships.

With these words I lay before you this annual report for your information and approval.

UMESHRA MISHRA,
Secretary.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1956-57

Sl. No.	Particulars of Receipts	Actuals From 1st of April '56 to 31st of March '57	Budget Estimates	Sl. No.	Particulars of Charges	Actuals from 1st of April '56 to 31st of March '57	Budget Estimates
		Rs. a. p-	Rs.			Rs. a. p.	Rs.
1.	Annual membership ..	1,043–11– 0	350	1.	Office Establishment	4,108– 0– 9	7,392
2.	Scholarship	2,600– 0– 0	2,400	2.	Scholarship ..	2,200– 0– 0	2,400
3.	Sales a/c. ..	556– 0– 0	400	3.	Postage ..	55–10– 0	150
4.	Interest on investments ..	4,182–12– 0	4,000	4.	Office Contingencies	1,709–11– 6	1,000
5.	Donations ..	2– 8– 0	2,400	5.	Interest on overdraft	277– 8– 0	700
6.	Recurring Govt. Grant ..	5,000– 0– 0	5,000	6.	Printing of Journals	4,096–14– 0	4,000
7.	Non-recurring Grant Union Govt. ..	10,000– 0– 0		7.	Building Construction	774– 0– 0	60,000
8.	N. R. Grant U. P. Govt.	5,000– 0– 0	80,794	8.	Furniture & office equipment ..		350
9.	Misc. Receipt ..	31–10– 6		9.	Purchase of Book & Mss. ..		4,500
				10.	Annual repairs ..		852
				11.	Publication of books		4,000
				12.	Instalment of overdraft		10,000
	Total	28,416– 9– 6	95,344		Total	13,221–12– 3	95,344

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1956-57—(*concld*)

Sl. No-	Particulars of Receipt	Actuals from 1st of April '56 to 31st of March '57	Budget Estimates	Sl. No.	Particulars of Charges	Actuals from 1st of April '56 to 31st of March '57	Budget Estimates
		Rs. a. p.					Rs. a. p.
	Opening balance on 1-4-56	14,229–11–10			Investments :—		
	Income during the year ..	28,416– 9– 6			National Saving		
		14,186–13– 8			Certificates ..		1,500– 0– 0
	Previous year's Cash	1– 5– 9			Security deposit with		
		14,188– 3– 5			U.P.E.Co. ..		180– 0– 0
	Cheques cashed ..	1,534– 1– 0			Securities ..		1,37,529–13–1
		12,654– 2– 5					1,39,209–13– 1
	Expenditure during the year	13,221–12– 3					
		567– 9–10					
	Cash in hand ..	115–13– 6					
		683– 7– 4					
	Bank Balance ..	2,540–10– 8					
	Difference due to uncashed cheques	3,224– 2– 0					

K. M· LAL.
Treasurer,

UMESHA MISHRA,
Secretary,

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RĀMABHAKTI-SĀHITYAMAIN MADHURA UPĀSANĀ by Shri Bhuvaneshwara Natha Mishra 'Madhava', M.A., Deputy Director, Education (Social), Government of Bihar, Patna and Published by the Bihar Rāṣṭra-Bhāṣā-Pariṣad, Patna; pp. 22 + 447. Price Rs. 9/- 1957.

This is a unique book on the subject. Shri Madhavaji has taken great pains to collect material for the book from the three main centres of Rāma-Bhakti, namely, Ayodhyā, Janakapur (Mithilā) and Citrakūṭa. He has left no stone unturned to trace the traditions of the Madhura Upāsanā. Scholars did very little think that there was any literature in extent on the erotic devotion in the Rāma cult. But the continuous efforts of the author have shown in the book under review that there is a vast literature on the subject in the sacred custody of the great saints of Ayodhyā, Mithilā and Citrakūṭa. It is also a fact that these books are still in manuscripts and the devotees of Rāma who are in their possession are not willing to show them to ordinary persons. Indeed, the gates of the Rāma-Bhakti are open to the sincere devotees alone.

The book under review has been devided into eight chapters—1. Rāgamayī Bhakti aura usakī Vaiṣṇava-paramparā; 2. Madhura rasa kā svarūpa aura usakī vyāpakatā; 3. Bhāratīya antaranga (esoteric) dharmasādhanāon mein madhurabhāva: (ka) Bauddha-Sahajiyā, (kha) Siddha-sampradāya aura Raseśvara-darśana mein Madhura-bhāva, (ga) Kāpālika, Nātha tathā Santa-sādhanā mein Madhura-bhāva, (gha) Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā; 4. Siddhadeha aura līlāpraveśa; 5. Avatāratva tathā Rāmopāsanā; 6. Rāmopāsanā kī Rasika-paramparā; 7. Rasika—paramparā kā Sāhitya (in Sanskrit) and the same in Hindi.

The treatment of the topics in every chapter is very lucid and most interesting. All the statements are supported by the respective authoritative texts. Every chapter has been dealt with both analytically and synthetically which has made the presentation quite forcible and convincing. The author can easily claim that all that has been said in this book is original. I do not know if any book so thorough and comprehensive has been written so far in any language on this subject. The author deserves congratulation for having produced such an interesting and informative book on the subject. An English translation of this book will be very useful for foreigners who are also quite in dark about this aspect of our culture.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE. 1000 to 1300 A. D. Vol. V of the History and Culture of the Indian People—pp. lix, 940, with 57 figures and 62 plates. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. Price Rs. 35/- 1956.

This volume deals with the transition period that marks the end of independent Hindu rule and the beginning of the dominance of Turkish tribes over a large part, if not the whole of India. This period is marked by the unsuccessful efforts of the early Turkish invaders in North India, of the Chālūkyas in the Deccan and the Choḷās in South India, as well as of individual rulers both in the north and in the south, to found an empire in India. Hence, the title 'Struggle for Empire' has been given to this volume. It closes with the accession of the Khaljīs to power. Though the new dynasty was a short-lived one, it was destined to establish the first all-India Muslim Empire in the ruins of the Hindu kingdoms and usher in a new era in Indian History in which the Muslims played the dominant role for more than 400 years. That era had its own glory and triumph in full measure as will be described in the next two volumes.

The present volume is bigger in size than any of the preceding volumes and is almost double the size of Vol. IV. The political history is dealt with in 12 chapters in 269 pages while the cultural history under the seven broad titles are dealt with in 506 pages. By this time the Bhavan volumes have set the standard seven divisions of culture :—

(1) Language and literature, (2) Political theory and Administrative organization, (3) Law and legal institutions, (4) Religion and philosophy, (5) Social and economic conditions including education and the position of women, (6) Architecture, sculpture and painting and (7) Colonial and cultural expansion. The chapter on Hindu Architecture, Sculpture and Painting is the longest covering 200 pages and 57 figures.

For more than one reason the present volume is bound to be of absorbing interest to the students of Indian History.

(1) Successive waves of Turkish hordes submerged a great portion of north India during the period that intervened between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta empire. All these slowly and silently merged themselves into the population of the country and became one with them without leaving any trace of their separate entity. This was, however, not the case with the later invaders. They not only kept severely aloof, and formed a distinct unit, politically, socially and culturally but drew into its vortex a considerable number of indigenous people to swell their ranks. And they had hardly anything in common with the old except the land which they adopted as their own. Al-Birūni said : "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect. We believe in nothing which they believe and vice-versa."

(2) A still more sublime tragedy was the comparative indifference of the Indian chiefs to this growing menace, and the fancied security in which they chose to repose themselves. They were more intent upon aggrandizing them-

selves at the cost of their neighbours than turning their whole-hearted attention to the great national task of freeing the Punjab from the yoke of the foreigners of an alien faith. It may appear ungracious to emphasise this humiliating and degrading aspect of Hindu character but no nation can hope to survive if it seeks to avoid truth or fears to face it and fails to learn the lesson of history. The haze of glory in which Pṛithvīrāja lives in Indian memory is considerably dimmed, if one realizes the effect of his failure to take full advantage of his great victory at Tarain for removing the imminent danger which involved him and his country within a year. But it is the noble, though somewhat painful, task of history to demolish the false in order to enthrone the true.

(3) The same period that saw the debacle of Northern India before the hammering blows of the Ghaznavids, witnessed the rise of a great power in full glory in the south. The Cholas established a vast empire that stretched along the eastern coast of India from the banks of the Gangā to Kanyākumārī and even beyond to Ceylon. They fitted out a naval expedition that crossed the Bay of Bengal and laid low the mighty empire of the Śailendras in Malay peninsula and Indonesia. It is one of the puzzles or insoluble riddles of Indian history that such a unique event is almost a passing episode in the history of India leaving no trail behind.

(4) So little was the Muslim danger thought of even in the region immediately to the south of the Vindhyas that the powerful Yādava rulers of the Deccan attacked from the south the Chalukyas of Guzerat at the very moment when they were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Muslim invaders from the north. Such incidents give a rude shock to the idea of fundamental unity of India.

(5) The period dealt with in this volume witnessed not only the gradual decay of political authority of the Hindus but also a definite set-back in the progress of their culture. Except in the domain of art, particularly the temple archi-

tecture, we find a steady process of decline and decadence, which had already set in the preceding period, in almost all spheres of cultural activity. The process was perhaps accelerated by the intrusion of Islam as a new element.

Although the period is, generally speaking one of decline and decadence, yet it serves a very useful purpose in the study of Indian history. It gives us a complete picture of Indian culture and civilization just before it came into contact with Islam. If we compare it with the culture of the Hindus before the impact of western influence gave a new character, we are in a position to answer the questions whether there is any such thing in present-day India whicn may be regarded as "Hindu" culture or whether the present culture should more properly be called an Indian culture which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but a composite of both.

The result of such a comparison is of great value in determining whether the Hindu culture such as it was towards the end of the 13th century A.D., continued substantially in the same form till it came under the influence of Western civilization or lost itself by the impact of Islam into an all-embracing Indian culture.

(6) During this period the great Dharma-Śāstra text—the *Mitākṣarā*—reinterpreted the regulatory canons of life laid in the earlier texts. Their authority, as judicial decisions show, held good till it was superseded by the recent amendments of the Hindu Code. These texts helped to conserve the social structure and pattern of conduct in all human relations.

(7) This was India's great age of Temple-building. In several parts of Northern India, remnants of some of the magnificent temples survive; many of the important ones in the South as the famous Bṛhadeśwara temple of Tanjore are still intact.

(8) This was the period when the languages of India Marathi, Bengali, Guzerati in the north and Tamil, Kannada

and Telugu made great strides. Tamil has the honour of producing the greatest *Rāmāyaṇa* epic by the poet Kambar who is next in rank only to Vālmīki as some people say.

(9) The south saw the glory of Vaiṣṇavism served by Rāmānuja and Madhwa. The Śaiva-Siddhānta of the Tamils also took its rise in this period.

These are some of the main features dealt with fully and accurately in this volume. The joy in seeing this volume makes one believe that the remaining volumes of the Bhavan's edition of the History & Culture of the Indian people would be completed very soon.

INDIAN INHERITANCE Vol. III. Science and Society. Bhavan Book University Series, Bombay pp. xii and 174. Price Rs. 1-12-0. 1958.

This volume is intended to be used as a text-book in the University course. The first part on Science deals with a historical account of the knowledge which our ancients had in the subjects of mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology and medicine. The second part consists of a description of ancient Hindu society. The Varṇa and the Āśrama Dharma and the good which it rendered to society in the past is sketched; and Brāhmaṇas were always of two classes—the one who enjoyed comfort and opulence, and the other living as best as he can on the bounty of others : the शालीन and the यायावर types. It is pointed out how the Śūdra's disabilities have been greatly exaggerated and misunderstood. In the *Manusmṛti*, woman attains her apotheosis as wife, mother and dependent relation serving and radiating her love. An extract from P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra* shows what the Sāmānya Dharma was for all castes and served as the foundation of Ethics and Social life. Of all the four Puruṣārthas, the Indian concept is that Dharma is the source of Artha and Kāma. The concept of Bhārata-

Varṣa from the Himalayas to Kanyākumāri existed definitely by the time of Śabara not later than the 5th century A.D. Rāja-dharma and Kauṭilya occupies two chapters. The rest of the book is taken up by giving us an insight into the lives of our great men; and the selection is illustrative. Amir Khusrau the poet, Rāṇā-Pratāpa the hero of Mewar, Akbar the ruler, Rāmadāsa the saint and Śivājī the emperor and Guru Govinda the Sikh founder are described. The book is very interesting and eminently fitted for study by students.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

HINDUISM THROUGH THE AGES by D. S. Sarma, pp. ix and 303. Bhavan's Book University Series, Bombay Price Rs. 1-12-0. 1958.

The author is a retired Professor of English and has to his credit many books on Hinduism, including an English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The author gives an account of Hinduism in the Vedic, epic and Purāṇic ages in 40 pages. The Bhakti system and the Bhakti school are dealt with in 20 pages. The main bulk of the work deals with the modern period 1750 to 1950 A.D. It is necessary for all university students to know the Renaissance of Hinduism beginning with Ram Mohan Roy and ending with Vivekānanda, Tagore, Gāndhi and Aurobindo. Students should have correct ideas as to the good and weak points of institutions, like the Theosophical Society, Brahma Samāja and the Ārya Samāja. For instance, recently it took a nine-day conference at Kanpur to formulate the principles of Hinduism on all the points where Hinduism differs from the Arya Samāja and to find out the vedic texts in support thereof. Gandhi's ideas of Ahimsā, Brahmacarya and Satyāgraha are often more misunderstood. Satyāgraha, as

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a political weapon whatever its past might have been, cannot function in modern India. Aurobindo's *Life Divine* is a work difficult to be summarised. The author has given a good account of all the tendencies in the modern period. It is an interesting and thought provoking book.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

FLIGHTS TO SOVIETS by Shri Satyanārāyaṇa Sinha with a foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, pp xii and 123. Bhavan's Book University Series ; Bombay Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan. Bombay 1956. Price Rs. 1-12-0. 1956.

The interesting account which the author has given in this book on his travels and adventures in the Soviet Union will help us to understand life and conditions in that part of the world. The Soviet system is not static and it is perpetually undergoing change; and increasing personal contacts of Indians with the U. S. S. R. would do good to India. Our students will find the book very interesting and educative.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL KANAUJ. Vol. IV of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, pp xliv and 585 and 3 maps. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Price Rs. 35/- 1955.

This volume fulfils the general standard of excellence associated with the previous volumes. The age begins with the repulse of the Arab invasions on the mainland of India in the beginning of the 8th century and ends with A. D. 997 when the ancient period of India is believed to have come to an end. This age saw the rise and fall of three great empires : of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, of the Pālas and the Pratihāras. The city of Kanauj was raised to the dignity of an imperial capital by Harṣavardhana.

But though his empire collapsed with his death, the glamour of Kanauj was revived by Yaśovarman. During the period under review, Kanauj formed the centre of attraction of all the three great powers and they regarded its possession as a consummation to be devoutly wished for. It was finally chosen as the capital by the Gurjara Pratihāras. Under them it rose to be the finest city in the whole of India and continued as such till the end of the period covered by this volume. This circumstance has suggested the name of this volume as *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*. It is therefore hardly necessary to add that this nomenclature is only to be taken in a general sense and is not intended to cover the entire history dealt with in the volume.

The political history is dealt with in 176 pages. Against this back-ground, the cultural history is dealt with in 276 pages. Generally speaking, the period is one of decline and decadence in all spheres of cultural activity. Buddhism and Jainism lost their dominant position and became gradually confined to particular regions. The rise of Tāntric cults brought corruption both in Buddhism and the Brahminical religion. Literature became less creative and more artificial. The pursuits of science were less active. The age of original Smṛtis was passing away ushering in the age of commentaries. It was easily taken for granted that the era of authoritative creation was now definitely closed and all that remained for the people was to understand the past and follow it as scrwpulously as possible.

Nevertheless, Indian genius shone forth in a brilliant manner. In the field of religion and philosophy the name of Śaṅkarācārya occupies an honoured place. Although Śaṅkara wrote only commentaries to existing works, the views he propounded through them entitle him to be ranked as one of the greatest philosophers of the world. Similarly, Medhātithi, the commentator on the *Manusmṛti* occupies a high place among the legal luminaries of India. By the process of interpretation, Medhātithi adapted the whole of the Rāja-Dharma section of Manu to the then existing rulers of the country though they were not Kṣatriyas. In an age when the power of the rulers to protect the subjects was weakening, Medhātithi enlarged the rights of self-defence in the subject when functioning as an ordinary citizen.

In literature, Viśākhadatta, Rājaśekhara are the great names of this period; and there was a galaxy of great rhetorician's like Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Kuntala.

Without being mistaken, it is our duty to point out that the Mutts founded by Śaṅkara are not dealt with in detail—a task which would tax the best historical genius of modern India. This volume omits reference to art and architecture reserving it to a subsequent volume. All other aspects of the volume are in keeping with the aims of the project.

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Ganganath Jha Research Institute
1943
Allahabad.

JOURNAL
OF THE
GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XV] MAY—AUGUST 1958 [Parts 3—4

PAURĀṆIC TRADITION—IS IT VEDIC?

By PROF. DR. VIMAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

THE importance of the Purāṇas for a correct and comprehensive understanding of ancient Indian history is first emphasised by Pargiter[1] towards the beginning of the twentieth century. Before him, reputed scholars no doubt entered the field of Paurāṇic studies but they were hardly able to disintegrate the Purāṇas from the network of mythology with which they are interwoven. Wilson, generally regarded as the pioneer in this field, goes so far as to say that 'the Purāṇas are only pious frauds written in subservience to sectarian imposture'. Goldstucker speaks of the Purāṇas most deridingly and makes them responsible for the degeneracy of Hinduism[2]. Of late, a systematic study of the Purāṇas is being continued by Hazra but he is mostly concerned with Smṛti-materials[3] as Pargiter was with Polito-historical data in them. When Goldstucker says that the religious depravity of the Hindus is due to the acceptance of the Purāṇas as the source of their faith, and that it can be checked only by an admission of the masses to the *Ṛgveda*[4], it is obvious that the role of Vedic heritage in the Purāṇas escapes his serious attention and that he forgets that the Hindu word Dharma being of protean import far surpasses its English counterpart in connotation; that the history of Hinduism is the chequered history of a steady absorption and subtle unification of heterogeneous thoughts and beliefs through a long stretch of time and that, last but not the least, 'a living society must have both the power of continuity and power of change'[5]. The present paper proposes to give a sketch of the vestiges of Vedic influence on the Purāṇa literature.

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[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, (London, 1922).

[2] "All barriers to religious imposition having broken down since the modern Purāṇas were received by the masses as the source of their faith, sects have sprung up which not merely endanger religion, but society itself; tenets have been propounded, which are an insult to the human mind; practices have been indroduced, which must fill every true Hindu with confusion and shame."—*Inspired Writings of Hinduism*, p. 108.

[3] See his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records of Hindu Rites and Customs*.

We must remember that Dharma always supplies one of the main motives of literature. It is so in all countries and especially in India which is pre-eminently a land of Dharma. If, as Radhakrishnan says, 'religion signifies faith in absolute values and a way of life to realise them';[6] the Vedic literature is undoubtedly religious in character. Being surrounded by a halo of sanctity round their tradition Vedic civilization and culture were urged forward by the momentum of their values and concepts expressing themselves, in every age, through different literary forms, absorbing and welding together discordant faiths and beliefs by power of intrinsic cultural cohesiveness. The later streams of literature in India, therefore, are only so many tributaries of the Vedas—their perennial source of vitality. An analytical study of the Purāṇas shows that the religious background with which the society of the Purāṇa-period is bound up, has a character of its own. The Dharma of the

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[4] *Inspired Writings of Hinduism*, p. 108-9.

[5] Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 113; Radhakrishnan defines a 'Hindu' thus : 'A Hindu, for our purposes, is one who adopts in his life and conduct any of the religious traditions developed in India on the basis of the Vedas'—*ibid.*, p. 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Purāṇa-period is the outcome of the conflict and compact of powerful and diverse motivations, of clash of cult and contact of cultures, and grows out of the impact of varied ideas, customs and characteristics of different sections, sometimes also of different ethinical groups, of people and their interplay upon one another. The changes that emerge as a result are steady and gradual and perhaps scarcely visible at the start. But the result is the new social pattern reflected in the Purāṇas which though resembling Vedic society in many ways, bears a stamp of character that is peculiarly its own.

The history of the journey of Indian religion and culture has been the history of a continuous adjustment and fusion where each succeeding phase being indissolubly linked up with the preceding ones is more an emergent than a resultant and because unity is not uniformity, all these phases are bound up with a thread of unity. If, therefore, the task of making a correct assessment of anything Purāṇic is carried against a historical perspective, it may furnish striking finds considerably helpful to reconstruct the history of Indian culture and civilization out of the moving panorama of diverse and hazy myths and legends, rites and traditions.

Often in the Purāṇas we come across a verse declaring that the Vedas should be interpreted in the light of the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas, as the Vedas are always afraid of one not thoroughly acquainted with traditions (alpaśruta) thinking 'this one will maim and mutilate us'. The authors of the Purāṇas also tell us that even by knowing the four Vedas along with the Vedāṅgas and the Upaniṣads one does not become wise (vicakṣaṇa) until and unless one knows the Purāṇas.[7] All this shows that the Purāṇas declare them as saying the last words on the interpretation of the Vedic passages. In fact, tradition is the very essence of culture and memory preserves tradition[8]. This memory, again, is the differentia distinguishing man from the lower species. Radhakrishnan says, 'Animals suffer from an oblivion of what they lived through, and work with very little experience. The tiger of to-day is identical with that of 6000 years ago. Each one begins his life as a tiger from the beginning as if none had ever existed before him. But man remembers his past and uses it in the present'[9]. The contribution of tradition in the field of Vedic interpretation has always been great[10]. In explaining the Vṛtra-legend as a natural phenomenon of the cloud imprisoning the waters, Yāska refers to the opinions of the Aitihāsika-school,[11] and then gives a naturalistic interpretation of the whole allegory.[12] Even Sāyaṇa, the most well-informed commentator of the Vedas, interprets Vedic passages with the received impressions of his age and makes his commentary a very large assemblage of traditions by profusely drawing upon the views of the mythologists (Paurāṇikas), grammarians (Śābdikas), historians (Aitihāsikas), etymologists (Nairuktas), mystics (Rahasyābhijñas) and so on. If tradition reflects culture, Vedic culture has always been a living force[13]. The Veda, the repertory of Āryan culture, passes through many vicissitudes in course of its journey up to the Purāṇa-era when, in the Purāṇas, it propagates a neo-nationalism which remains no longer Āryan but Hindu in both spirit and contents. As the Purāṇas are the outcome of the weaving of diverse traditions coming down from the Vedic age[14], they possess an incalculable advantage in point of time over the pre-Purāṇic literatures and therefore become almost encyclopedic in character. If the Purāṇas have set up any tradition, it is the tradition of reconciling and bringing the moderate heterodox cults of their age within the pale of orthodoxy and yet maintaining regard and respect for Vedic rituals and customs and re-adjusting them according to the needs of the age. In any other sense, any such phrase as 'Paurāṇic tradition' will be a misnomer. It may, therefore, be said that if in the Brāhmaṇa literature we find the first phase of Mantra-bhāṣya settling itself as a distinct kind of literary production, the Purāṇas present us the last literary phase of the same.

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[7] *Comp.* *Itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ Vedaṃ samupabṛṃhayet*
vibhety alpaśrutād Vedo mām ayaṃ prahariṣyati |
yo 'vidyāc caturo vedān sāṅgopaniṣado dvijaḥ
na cet purāṇaṃ saṃvidyān naiva sa syād vicakṣaṇaḥ ||

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[8] "A culture dies a natural death when it becomes crystallised or congealed, an accidental or artificial death when its tradition is interrupted"—Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 118.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[10] V. C. Bhattacharyya, Traditional Schools of Vedic Interpretation, *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 153 f.

[11] A rigid distinction between Itihāsa and Purāṇa is not always feasible. In fact, historical and mythological traditions commingle to such an extent that a division of the two into water-tight apartments is almost impossible; comp. *purāṇeṣvitihāso'yaṃ paṭhyate vedavādibhiḥ—Matsya*, 58. 4. According to Monier Williams the two literary species though 'very different' are closely related (*Hinduism*, p. 82).

[12] *tat ko Vṛtra megha iti nairuktās tvāṣṭros'ura ity aitihāsikāḥapāṃ ca jyotiṣaś ca miśrībhāvakarmaṇo varṣakarma jāyate tatra upamārthena yuddhavarṇā bhavanti—Nirukta*, II. 16.

In course of his work Yāska mentions twenty four great teachers and seven different schools by name (including the Aitihāsika-school), not frequently without referring to some others in a general way.

Yet there is a fundamental difference between thes two phases and this difference is due to the fact that the conception of Dharma prevailing in the Brāhmaṇa-period undergoes a thorough change in the Purāṇa-era. The Brāhmaṇa literature stems out of the view that performance of sacrifice by uttering Mantras is the first Dharma. In its exposition of *ṚV* 1.164.50[15] the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[16] shows every inclination towards the view that the system of sacrificial performances comes down to its age from the hoary past and that sacrifices are the first laws (prathamāṇi dharmāṇi). It also refers to a sacrifice (sattra) performed by seers on the Sarasvatī, the memory of which is kept alive even at its time in the name Parisāraka given to the particular spot where the sacrifice it refers to is held[17]. The Mīmāṃsaka school avowedly confines itself to ritualistic texts and regards the Vedas as the source of the knowledge of Dharma which in its pristine form for the outward mind is nothing but the performance of sacrifice. In one word, the Vedic literature attempts at a ritualistic interpretation of the hymnal texts and strains every nerve to justify their liturgical employment, preaching thereby the Śrautadharma which is, in all essentialities, Yajñadharma in character.

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[13] Comp. "Tradition is something which is for ever being worked out anew and recreated by the free activity of its followers. What : built for ever is for ever building. If a tradition does not grow it only means that its followers have become spiritually dead. Throughout the history of Hinduism the leaders of thought and practice have been continually busy experimenting with new forms, developing new ideals to suit new conditions"—Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, pp. 21-22 (Eighth impression, 1949).

[14] *ākhyānaiś cāpyupākhyānair gāthābhirdvijasattamāḥ |*
purāṇasaṃhitām cakre purāṇārtha-viśāradaḥ ||—Viṣṇu., III. 3.16.

The Purāṇas also believe in the ceremonious origin of the Vedic Mantras though they do not support each application of them as it prevails by their time[18]. The *Agni P.* says that Ṛks, Yajus and Sāmans are created for the accomplishment of sacrifices[19]. In a passage of the *Matsya P.* Śakra says to Bali that gods partake of their shares in sacrifice on the authority of the Vedas[20]. The *Brahmāṇḍa P*[20a]. tells that sacrifices have been prescribed in the Vedas and that they are performed by uttering Mantras. In an interesting passage the *Vāyu P.* [20b] narrates that the gods who are created from the mouth of Brahmā are called Jayā and the Mantras come to constitute their forms (mantraśarīrāḥ). Curiously enough, of gods falling under this generic name, two bear the names of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, suggesting thereby that the Iṣṭis are not only coming down from the most ancient times but also bear a close relation with the Vedic Mantras. The *Kūrma P.*[20c] mentions Bhāratavarṣa as a land of sacrifice. The performance of Yajña once gains so much popularity that the Purāṇas refer to King Vena's destruction at the hands of his subjects for banning all sacrificial performances in his kingdom[21]. A verse in the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* clearly states that the Veda is the basis of Yajña and the loss of the one brings a loss of the other[22]. A verse in the *Kūrma P.* tells that if three consecutive generations of a Brahmin-family desist from performing sacrifice with Vedic Mantras, the fourth generation in the line is called a Durbrāhmaṇa[23].

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[15] It reads thus : *Yajñena yajñaṃ ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan.*

[16] It is generally believed to be one among the oldest of its class:, see Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, H. O. S., Vol. 31, p. 19.

[17] Comp. *tasmādd hā py etarhi parisārakamity ācakṣate yad enaṃ ṣarasvatī samantaṃ parisasāra*—*A. Br.*, VIII, I, also, *ibid.*, XXVI ; I, in connection with the name Arbudodāsarpaṇī. The *T. Br.* ii. 8.8.10, gives a stanza speaking of Yajña being performed with oblations of *ghee* in the four fires. In his thesis entitled *Ṛgveda Mantras—Their Original Purpose and Later Applications*, the present writer has elaborately quoted the views of both oriental and occidental scholars that all the Ṛgveda-Mantras have not only ceremonial uses but also ceremonious origin.

[18] This point has been discussed later.

[19] Comp. *ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni nirmame yajñasiddhaye*—*Agni*, 17.13 also *Viṣṇu.*, 3.14.21.

The Vedas are always held in high esteem in the Purāṇas. Brahmā is called Vedanidhi.[24] The first three Mantras of the three Saṃhitās are said to come out of Brahman's mouth[25] and the Purāṇas are regarded as nothing but a continuation

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[20] Comp. *yajñabhāgabhujo devā vedaprāmāṇyato'surāḥ*—*Matsya.* 246.14.

[20a] 15.2.1; 63. 32.. [20b] 66.4-7. [20c] 56.27.

[21] *Viṣṇu.* 1.13 ; *Brahmāṇḍa.* 68.107, f.

[22] *Vede nāśam anuprāpte yajño nāśaṃ gamiṣyati |*
yajñe naṣṭe devanāśas tataḥ sarvaṃ praṇaśyati ||
—*Brahmāṇḍa.*, 66.6.

[23] The verse is—*yasya Vedaś ca Vedī ca vicchidyete tripūruṣaṃ|sa vai durbrāhmaṇo nārhaḥ śrāddhādiṣu kadācana*—*Kūrma. Upa.*, 21.27 ; this verse is quoted with slight modification by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, one of the pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Vedas (*T. S.*, Mysore ed. II. P. 10, p. 315) replacing *nāma yaś caiva vṛsalipatiḥ* for *nārhaḥ Śrāddhādiṣu kadācana.*

[24] *Vāyu.*, 25.43.

[25] *Ibid.*, 26.17f ; *Brahmāṇḍa.*, Chap. 27.

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of the Vedas[26]. Vedic customs and traditions have been declared supreme and any other customs or traditions not strictly conforming to them and not surrendering to the fold of Vedic orthodoxy have been disparaged[27].

Reading out the Vedas in a Śrāddh-ceremony is a practice very widely followed in the Purāṇic society[28] and a brāhmaṇa not well-versed in the Vedas is not entitled to an invitation to such ceremonies[29]. Agnihotra is the supreme relegious deed for the brāhmāṇas[30]. In narrating the Rāmopākhyāna, the *Agni P.* speaks of Rāma's observing the vow of Cāturmāsya[31]. In declaring the supremacy of Mahādeva over Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the *Kūrma P.*[31a] counts on the verdict of the Vedas as final[32]. In short, the Mantras of the four Vedas are declared as instruments for the attainment of the fourfold goal (caturvarga) of human life.[33]

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[26] *Kū. Upa.*, 24.21. The phrases *purāṇaṃ vedasammitam*, *purāṇaṃ brahmasammitam*, *puṇyaṃ Vedaiś ca sammitam*, *nānā-śruti-samāyuktam* are of frequent occurrence.

[27] Comp. *ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni tathaivātharvaṇāni ca |*
brahmaṇaḥ sahajaṃ rūpaṃ nityaiṣā śaktir avyayā ||
anādinidhanā divyā vāg utsṛṣṭā svayambhuvā |
ādau vedamayī divyā yataḥ sarvāḥ pravṛttayaḥ ||
ato'nyāni hi śāstrāṇi pṛthivyāṃ yāni kānicit |
na teṣu ramate dhīraḥ pāṣaṇḍī tena jāyate ||
Vedārthavittamaiḥ kāryaṃ yat smṛtaṃ munibhiḥ purā |
sa jñeyaḥ paramo dharmo nānyaśāstreṣu saṃsthitaḥ ||
yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayo yāś ca kāś ca kudṛṣṭayaḥ |
sarvās tāḥ niṣphalāḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhā hi tāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

—*Kūrma Pū.*, 2. 27-31; also comp. *Vāyu.*, 62.110.—

In the Purāṇas the word *pāṣaṇḍa* stands for any anti-Vedic faith and a follower of such a faith is called *pāṣaṇḍin*. In the inscriptions of Aśoka the word means a religious faith in general. The word occurs in *Manusaṃhitā* (IV. 30; IX, 225) where Kullūka explains *pāṣaṇḍinaḥ* as *vedabāhyavratalimgadhāriṇaḥ śākya-bhikṣu-kṣapaṇakādayah* and *pāṣaṇḍasthāḥ* as *śruti-smṛti-bāhya-vratadhāriṇaḥ*. It appears, the word undergoes a change in sense towards the worse during the resurgence of Brahmanical faith at the hands of Brāhmaṇās. From a verse in the *Vāyu. P.* we come to know that different anti-Vedic religions are already able to establish themselves by recruiting a swelling number of adherents from the society—

Vedāḥ kṛtayuge pujyās tretāyāṃ tu surās tathā |
yuddhāni dvāpare nityaṃ paṣaṇḍāś ca kalauyuge || —*Vāyu P.*, 78.37.

[28] *Kūrma. Upa.*, 22.69.

[29] *Vāyu.* 83-60-64. The *Viṣṇu.* 3.15 lays down the requisites of such a brāhmaṇa thus—

brāhmaṇān bhojayet śrāddhe yadguṇāṃs tān nibodha me |
triṇāciketas trimadhus triṣuparṇaḥ ṣaḍaṃgavit ||
Vedavit śrotriyo yāgī tathā vai jyeṣṭhasāmagaḥ ||

(See Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary). A brāhmaṇa having no knowledge of the Vedas is called *nagna* (*Viṣṇu.*, 3.17.5).

But Yajña on which the Vedic religion mainly hinges, now recedes back in the new social pattern of the Purāṇas[34]. The *Matsya P.*[34a] categorically states that the Vedas are lost in the Kali era[35]. I have frequently come across passages where it is told that performance of Yajña was introduced and considered Dharma in the Dvāpara era[36] and making of gifts is the greatest Dharma for the Kali age[37]. The reasons of this relegation of Yajña from social life are not far to seek. In the *Matsya P.* we hear Vāsudeva telling in course of his talk to Yudhiṣṭhira that the performance of Vedic Yajña (as prescribed by sages and gods) involving huge expense[38] and requiring various materials, always remains beyond the means of the poor. Only the rich are in a position to reap the merit accruing through the performance of a Yajña. Vāsudeva, therefore, advises Yudhiṣṭhira to have recourse to voyage to holy places (tīrthas) which is easy for the poor and assures him that it will bring him greater merit than even what is achieved by performing Yajña[39]. This sympathy for the poor actuates the authors of the Purāṇas to extend religion to the doors of every man of the society and Dharma now remains no monopoly of the favoured few. The Vrata-cult so elaborately propagated in the Purāṇas comes to the fore-front due to the same reason. It is mainly considered advantageous for the poor, inasmuch as it can be observed even by a destitute according as his resources permit[40]. The *Matsya P.* deprecates Yajña as the greatest enemy of mankind not because it does not believe in its efficacy but because it apprehends every defect at every step owing to the very complex nature that its performance involves[41].

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[30] *Krūma Upa.*,24.11.

[31] *tac chrutvā mālyavatpṛṣṭhe cāturmāsyaṃ cakāra saḥ*—*Agni.*, 8.5.

[31a] Chap. 31.

[32] Even the advocates of the Kṛṣṇa-cult pretend to draw upon the Vedas as the authorities of Kṛṣṇa's supremacy—

rādhāvilāsarasikam kṛṣṇākhyaṃ puruṣaṃ param |
śrutavān asmi vedebhyo yatas tadgocaro'bhavat || —*Vāyu.*, 104.52, 55.

[33] *Agni.*, 271.1; elsewhere (104.20, 21) it states that it lays down various ways to salvation in consonance with the Vedic authority—*muktimārgā bahuvidhā uktā vedāvirodhataḥ |*

[34] Though the *Matsya.*, (145.44) clearly knows of the determinants of a Vedic Yajña—*paśūnāṃ dravyahaviṣām ṛk-sāma-yajuṣāṃ tathā |*
ṛtvijāṃ dakṣiṇāyāś ca saṃyogo yajña ucyate ||

[34a] 144.17. Comp. also *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 65.42.

[35] 'Vedas' means 'Vedic Yajñadharma' in a transferred sense; it may also mean 'the Vedas proper' as the Purāṇas believe in a dangerous tampering in the body of the Vedas at different times and at different hands.

[36] The Purāṇas recognise the institution of sacrifice as belonging to a hoary past. According to the *Matsya P.* (143.42) Yajña was instituted in the Svāyambhuva era. The *Vāyu P.* in one place (8.66 ; also *Kūrma P.*, 28.17f) declares it as having originated in the Dvāpara age, while, in another (31.16), in the Tretā age.

[37] *Vāyu.*, 8.66; *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 8.65 ; the *Kūrma Upa.* 26.10 tell that gift is to be made only when one has surplus after maintaining one's family—

kuṭumbabhaktavasanād deyaṃ yad atiricyate |
anyathā dīyate yadh hi na tad dānaṃ phalapradaṃ ||

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[38] The Soma sacrifice regarded in the Purāṇas as the best and the greatest of its kind, is so expensive that one having in store foodstuffs sufficient to maintain one's family for three years is only authorised to perform it—*Kūrma*, *Upa.*, 24.13-14. Also Vide *Manu*, XI. 7

[39] Comp. *ṛṣibhiḥ kratavaḥ proktā devaiś cāpi yathākramam |*
na hi śakyā daridreṇa yajñāḥ prāptuṃ mahīpate ||
bahūpakaraṇā yajñā nānāsambhāravistarāḥ |
prāpyante pārthivair etaiḥ samṛddhair vā naraiḥ kvacit ||
yo daridrair api vidhiḥ śakyaḥ prāptuṃ nareśvara |
tulyo yajñaphalaiḥ puṇyais tān nibodha yudhiṣṭhira ||
ṛṣīṇāṃ paramaṃ guhyaṃ idaṃ bhāratasattama |
tīrthānugamanaṃ puṇyaṃ yajñebhyo'pi viśiṣyate ||
—*Matsya.*, 112-12-15.

[40] In eulogising the Vibhūtidvādaśī-vrata the *Matsya P.* (99. 17-18) reads—*alpavitto yathāśaktyā stokaṃ stokaṃ samācaret |*
yaś cāpy atīva niḥsvaḥ syād bhaktimān mādhavaṃ prati ||
puṇyārcana-vidhānena sa kuryād vatsaradvayaṃ ||

There are other factors also contributing considerably towards the banishment of Yajña from society. It may not be an unwarrantable supposition that when the Brāhmaṇical religion loses its popularity with the masses[42], different religious sects with different customs and traditions and preaching different religious tenets try hard to transplant their thoughts and ideas on the soil of India and recruit fresh adherents to their faiths from among the masses. The *Kūrma P*. refers to Smṛtis that are current at its time though not sanctioned by the Vedas (Vedabāhya) and also to other corrupted visions of thoughts (kudṛṣṭayaḥ) all rooted in tamaḥ (tamoniṣṭhāḥ)[43]. In a passage of the *Matsya P*.[43a] it is told that Indra killed the preachers of some non-Vedic religions with his Vajra[44]. We also learn that by the time of the *Kūrma P.* many Śāstras preaching anti-Vedic views prevail[45]. They often mercilessly criticize the Vedic system of Yajñadharma so widely prevalent among the masses. The Vedic doctrine of Sacrifice with a luxuriant promise of heaven and happiness is hammered even by the Bhāgavata sect[46]. We find the interesting story where great sages assembled in a sacrifice held by Indra, hurl questions after questions to him regarding the propriety of killing of animals in a Yajña[47]. Elsewhere, it is told that a religious rite corrupted by killing of animals cannot lead one to heaven or bring him salvation[48]. The doctrine of Ahiṃsā appeared in the field of Dharma as a distinct anti-Vedic movement led by the Bhāgavatas, the Jains and the Buddhists. On the other hand, even Buddha himself is not spared by the Brāhmaṇas[49]. Buddha, begging alms from door to door is seen being insulted and refused by the Brāhmaṇas[50]. In his conspiracy to kill Buddha, Devadatta is successful in getting the active co-operation of even King Ajātaśatru[51]. Yet, the doctrine of Ahiṃsā so emphatically advocated by Buddhism leaves a deep and permanent impress upon the spirit of Brāhmaṇical religion[52]. The Brāhmaṇas henceforth accept the doctrine of Ahiṃsā after modifying it not by inspiration from[53] but by impact against Buddhism. Ahiṃsā is advocated as the greatest of all Dharmas and yet declared to be on a par with slaying of animal victims in a horse-sacrifice[54].

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[41] Comp. annahīno dahed rāṣṭraṃ mantrahīnas tu ṛtvijaḥ /
yaṣṭāraṃ dakṣiṇāhīnaṃ nāsti yajñasamo ripuḥ //
na vā 'py alpadhanaḥ kuryāt lakṣahomaṃ naraḥ kvacit /
yasmāt pīḍākaro nityaṃ yajñe bhavati vigrahaḥ //
—*ibid*., 93. 111-12.

[42] The animosity existing between the Vedic and the anti-Vedic people is one of the causes of the downfall of the Brāhmaṇical religion, Comp. "That the religion or the government did not always feel secure may be inferred from a passage in which Indra is requested to protect the worshipper not only in war but in peace, or amongst or against the people"—Wilson's translation of the Ṛgveda, Vol. III, Preface, p. xii. According to Wheeler, the Brāhmaṇical theology fell because 'it was devoid of all humanity' and 'utterly failed to reach the heart'. He says, "It is obvious that so far the theology of the Brāhmaṇas was without any moral meaning. It satisfied no yearning, furnished no consolation and utterly ignored the affections. But without human sympathies, theology, man cannot worship deity, anymore than he can worship beauty, excepting through the medium of humanity"—
—*India : Vedic and Post-Vedic*., p. 80.

[43] *Kūrma Pv*., 2.31.

[44a] 24.48—49.

[44] Comp. *Vedatrayīparibhraṣṭāṃscakāra dhiṣaṇādhipaḥ /*
Vedabāhyān parijñāya hetuvādasamanvitān //
jaghāna śakro vajreṇa sarvān dharmabahiṣkṛtān //

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[45] *Kūrma Pv.*, 2.28-29; a list of such Śāstras is given in *Kūrma Upa.* 37. 146-7; also comp. *ibid.*, 37.30; *Agni.*, 237. 4-5 and 238.8-9 mention the names of many branches of knowledge called Vidyā. For the origin of the Ārhata religion and its criticism of the Vedic system of sacrifice see *Viṣṇu P.* 3.18. *Matsya P.* (24.47) refers to Vedabāhya Jinadharma; reference to atheism is also made in *Viṣṇu* P., 3.18.

[46] See *Gītā.*, 4.33; 4.42f Comp. 'The earlier Brahmanical attitude towards the faith (Bhāgavatism) was one of hostility but later on there was a combination between Brāhmaṇism and Bhāgavatism probably owing to the Buddhist propaganda of the Mauryas"—Roy Choudhury, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect,* (2nd ed.), p. 6-7. The allegorical representation of Yajña in *Chāndogya Up.* (3.17) probably bears testimony to this fact.

[47] *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 63. 12f.

[48] *Viṣṇu.*, 3.18.15.

[49] The *Saṃyuttanikāya* (1.162) shows that contemporary brāhmaṇas called Buddha 'Vṛṣala'. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 109.34) Buddha is called a thief—*yathā hi cauraḥ sa tathā hi buddhas-*

tathāgataṃ nāstikaṃ atra viddhi |
tasmāddhiyaḥ śakyatamaḥ prajānām
sa nāstikenābhimukho budhaḥ syāt ||

This animosity is also present in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.3.24)

tataḥ kalau saṃpravṛtte sammohāya suradviṣām |
buddhanāmnā 'ñjanasutaḥ kīkaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati ||

Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva., 90.14) defines a Vṛṣala thus—*yasmin vilīyate dharmas taṃ devā vṛṣalaṃ viduḥ ||*

The foregoing sketch will explain the considerable animosity existing amongst different religious sects. The result of this animosity is not happy and certainly very perplexing for the people in general. The sixty-fourth Chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* presents us a picture very helpful in forming an idea of the turmoil the society passes through during this period of religious transition. Herefrom we learn that on account of different opinions maintained and propagated by different religious sects regarding Dharma, the true presentation of Dharma is entirely lacking and, as a result, people become confounded and come at a loss to determine which one they should accept. The Ritualistic School pervades its grip over the society to a deplorable extent and renders religious texts in a way that suits them most[55] without caring for what their interpretations ought to be. The indiscriminate and indiscreet employment of Vedic mantras in rituals also help to create a good deal of aversion in popular mind for the Vedic rituals. The priestly class sometimes indulges in luxuriant speculations in selecting Mantras to be applied in rituals prescribed by Vidhi[56]. The *Kūrma P.* narrates a story which is very important from this point of view. Dakṣa, son of Pracetas, holds a sacrificial session at Gangādvāra without offering any oblations to Rudra therein. Sage Dadhīca asks for the reasons of doing so. Dakṣa replies saying that Rudra has not been allotted a share in every sacrifice and that Mantras also are not there (in the Saṃhitā) by uttering which oblations might be offered to him accompanied with his wife[57]. Sages assembled there side with Dakṣa. This story clearly points to the fact that a proclivity to accommodate new gods in sacrifice is seen with the priestly hierarchy and because there is not a parallel protuberance in the number of Vedic verses needed for them, the priestly class, in order to meet the growing demand, has to transgress their scheduled jurisdiction and recruit new verses from beyond it. A continuous addition to the bulk of the Mantra literature in different times and at different hands is also expressly referred to[58]. A tampering or reshuffling of the *Yajurveda*, the Veda for the ritualists, is also hinted at[59]. It is told that Śākalya, called Padavittamaḥ[60] or Vādakartā[61] dies of his being defeated by Yājñavalkya in a controversy with the latter[62]. This may be suggestive of the fact that Śākalya's splitting up of the Vedic Mantras into their constituent Pada-units is challenged by no less a seer than Yājñavalkya and the former has to pay the penalty for the wrong method pursued throughout his Pada-text in the form of death.

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[50] Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 264.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 193-4. Hieu-en-sang happens to be an eye-witness of a situation in which five hundred brāhmaṇas conspire and set fire to a Saṅghārāma built by Harṣavardhana (Beal, *Si-Yu-ki.*, Vol. I, p. 219-21.)

[52] The Uñchavṛttyākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata* denouncing Vedic Yajña deserves attention.

[53] Munshi (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, Foreword, p. xiv) says 'Buddha was undoubtedly the product of Aryan culture.'

[54] cf. *ahiṃsā paramo dharmas tathā'hiṃsā paraṃ tapaḥ |*
ahiṃsā paramaṃ satyaṃ yato dharmaḥ pravartate. ||
—*Anuśāsana Parva.*; 115.25.

and *māsi māsy aśvamedhena yo yajeta śataṃ samāḥ |*
na khādati ca yo māṃsaṃ samam etan mataṃ mama ||

It is interesting to note that when Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (187-151 B. C.) the Brāhmaṇa general of the last Maurya King Bṛhadratha occupies the throne of Magadha and performs Horse-sacrifice to celebrate his victory, he finds a warm welcome from the Brāhmaṇas—

Comp. *audbhijjo bhavitā kaścit senānī kāśyapo dvijaḥ |*
aśvamedhaṃ kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati ||
—*Harivaṃśa* (Bhaviṣyaparva., 2.40).

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[55] Comp. Śāśtrārthaiḥ saṃśayaprāptān yathārthān vai vikalpitaiḥ/ *Matsya.*, 153.177. See also *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 64-12-17.

[56] Comp. mantrāṇām kalpanaṃ caiva vidhidṛṣṭeṣu karmasu—*Brahmāṇḍa*, Chap. 65. The passage *śāstre śastre smṛtā mantrāḥ prayogās tatra durlabhāḥ* (*Agni.*, 312.4) points to the reverse case where Mantras survive leaving their corresponding rites totally forgotten.

[57] Comp. *Sarveṣv eva hi yajñeṣu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ |*
na mantrā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ śaṅkarasyeti nejyate ||

Kūrma Pv. 15.8. When Vīrabhadra, attendant of Rudra, demands Rudra's share in sacrifice, gods tell him, 'There is no mantra that entitles you to a share in sacrifice"—*ibid.*, 15.52.

The growing influence of the Tantra-cult is also seen in this period. The use of the terms Kṛtyā, Abhicāra, Grahaśānti, Pauṣṭika etc. is very frequent. In one place we get a long list of articles required for Vaśīkaraṇa[63]. Belief in the magical power of Mantras is seen[64]. Mantras from the Tantra-texts are profusely recruited[65], and they already acquire so much popularity that they hardly require full quotation and easily pass by their technical names[66].

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[58] Comp. *pratimanvantaraṃ caiva śrutir anyā vidhīyate |*
ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni yathāvat pratidaivatam || *Matsya.*, 145.58.

[59] *Brahmāṇḍa.* 66.23 ; the result is that the Yajuḥsaṃhitās current in the northern, eastern and the central part of the country considerably differ from one another—the three Saṃhitās being respectively known as Śyāmāyanī, Ālambī and Āruṇī—*ibid.*, 67.8-9. This chapter gives a fairly long list of different sages and the prodigious number of Saṃhitās composed by each of them.

[60] *Ibid.*, 66.64.

[61] *Ibid.*, obviously for his being an opponent of Yājñavalkya in a hot controversy with the latter.

[62] *Ibid.*, 66.64-5.

[63] *Agni.*, 123.28-34.

[64] *Ibid.*, 137.9f.

[65] Comp. *āgamasambhava mantra—ibid.*, 97. 71.

[66] As for examples, Umā-maheśa-mantra, Gaurīmantra, Pāśupatamantra—*Agni.*, 97, 35, 38, 59. Names of several Tantra works and the countries in which they are widely in vogue are given in *Agni.*, chap. 39,

The reason of this growing influence of the Tantra-cult is obvious. The Purāṇas are mainly reservoirs of Kṣatriya-tradition and Kṣatriyas are seen to be particularly interested in and inclined to the *Atharvaveda*[67]. Particularly in war times Kings are seen to have recourse to Tantra[68]. The later the Purāṇas, the more they betray the Tantra-influence. By the time of the *Agni P.*, even a ritual for Viṣṇu assumes threefold character—Vedic, Tāntrik and mixed[69] (miśra).

Above is a brief assessment of the nature and direction of some of the momentous forces working through the life of India and steadily broadening out the Vedic Yajñadharma into the powerful neo-nationalism of the Purāṇas. It has been already stated that to satisfy the popular thirst for religion the Purāṇas brought forward the Tīrtha-cult and the Vrata-cult[70]. Another important substitute for Vedic Yajña is the Temple-cult which ramains quite unknown in the Vedic period[71]. The *Agni P.* declares that the right use of wealth lies in its being spent for making gifts (dāna) or holding naming sessions (kīrtana) but the best use of it can be had by spending it for building up the temples of the Trinity.[72] It goes even so far as to declare that the very thought of building up a temple makes one completely freed from sins by a day[73]. This was but natural. The Vedic religion is a religion of the contemplative sages presenting only a procession of thoughts and hardly furnishing any stereotyped result. The religion of the Brāhmaṇa literature is a religion of the mercenary priests, accessible only to the wealthy section of the society and exclusively sacerdotal in character. But the religion of the Purāṇas is a religion of the brāhmaṇas, adherents of one or other member of the Trinity, meant for and accessible to all and therefore, popular in character.

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[67] Comp. *rājñas tv atharvavedena sarvakarmāṇi sa prabhuḥ |*
kārayāmāsa maitreya brahmatvaṃ ca yathābutiḥ—
Viṣṇu., 3.3.14.

[68] *Agni.*, 125.51-55. The Trailokya-vijaya-vidyā (*ibid.*, 134.3), Saṅgrāma-vijaya-vidyā (*ibid.*, chap. 135) are specially helpful to kings to disperse hostile army in the battlefield.

[69] Comp. *vaidikas tāntriko miśro viṣṇor vai trividho makhaḥ*—*Agni.*, 372.34.

Monier Williams says 'The Purāṇas were written for the express purpose of exalting one or the other male deity while the Tantras came to extol the prominence of their female counterparts. He undermines both of these two literatures as representing 'the most corrupt phases of popular Hinduism'—*Hinduism.*, p. 81-2. Just as Buddhism is absorbed by the acceptance of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and that of Mahāyānaism into the fold of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivaism so the Tantra-cult is absorbed by allowing the Āgama-tradition to come on an equal footing with the Nigama-tradition to form the basic authorities of Hinduism. That the Tāntric cult of the mother-goddess once greatly influenced Vaiṣṇavism is proved by the Khoh inscription of A.D. 441. [*The Classical Age* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan), p. 421].

[70] Besides occasional discourses the *Matsya* deals with the efficacy of Tīrthas in 15 consecutive chapters (Chaps. 180—194) and devotes one whole chapter to eulogise 60 vratas at a stretch.

The doctrine of Incarnation is also a noted feature of the Purāṇas. It has been stated that one attains heaven by hearing myths and legends connected with the Avatāras. Copying of the Purāṇas and making gifts of them come to be regarded as deeds of unlimited merit[74]. The importance of the ceremony of Dīkṣā[75] and of the position of Guru[76] as the spiritual guide of a man may also be regarded as the natural offshoots of the urge to provide every scope to the people for satisfying their religious thirst that remains subdued for centuries by the unsympathetic attitude and rigid character of Vedic Yajñadharma. The contribution of Buddhism working on the religious front as a protestant faith is also in no way negligible. The spirit of sympathy for the mass that makes the Purāṇas so conspicuous and adds a character to them is practically derived from Buddhism. Monier Williams thinks that probably the definite shape given by the Brāhmanas to the doctrine of human incarnation, was due to their perception of the fact that the success of Buddhism was in great part due to the reverence the Buddha inspired by his own personal character[77]. The legend of Vāmadeva as being born of his mother's side is thought by Wilson[78] as 'suggestive of the subsequent similarly marvellous birth of Buddha'. It is to be noted that the age of the Purāṇas is the age of the revival of Brāhmaṇism in a new garb—that of Hinduism. On the open platform of self-implantation Brāhmaṇism has to face as its rivals different sectarian religious cults of which Buddhism becomes the strongest protestant church. It is an age of vying of the two—each one trying hard to absorb the other by bringing it within its own fold. Brāhmaṇism ultimately emerges victorious primarily for its principle of absorption sufficiently elastic for sheltering other faiths yet sufficiently rigid to secure its own. With this is added the advantage derived from the greatest blunder of Buddhism—the blunder of deriding the Vedas and denying the Vedic theology. Both are, in fact, systems of duty, morality and benevolence and both lay stress on more on a way of life than a system of thoughts. Buddhistic system of duty and way of living combined with Vedic theology makes what we have in the Purāṇas—the Hinduism. In other words, Hinduism minus Vedic theology constitutes Buddhism[79].

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[71] See Wilson's translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, Preface p. xxii; Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 125; Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 22.

The art of making images (Pratimā-nirmāṇa-vidyā), the art of colouring them (siṃhavidyā), the practice of worshipping holy stones (śālagrāma-pūjanam) grow as natural corollaries of this Cult.

[72] Comp. *yadā vittaṃ na dānāya nopabhogāya dehinām |*
nāpi kīrttyai na dharmārthaṃ tasya svāmye'tha ko guṇaḥ ||
tasmād vittaṃ samāsādya daivād vā pauruṣād atha |
dadyāt samyag dvijāgryebhyaḥ kīrtanāni ca kārayet ||
dānebhyaś cādhikaṃ yasmāt kīrtanebhyo varaṃ yataḥ|
ataś ca kārayed dhīmān viṣṇvāder mandirādikam ||—*Agni.*, 38. 24—27.

[73] Comp. *devāgāraṃ karomī ti manasā yastu cintayet* |
tasya kāyagataṃ pāpaṃ tad ahnā hi praṇśyati ||
anenaivānumeyaṃ hi phalaṃ prāsādavistarāt ||
—*ibid.*, 41.33-35.

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[74] *Agni.*, 63. 20—22; *Matsya.*, Chap. 292; *Agni.*, Chap. 272.

[75] *Agni.*, Chap. 81; 83.62.

[76] *Ibid.*, 79. 34f comp. also *gurur guroḥ pādukā ca paro guruś ca pādukā—ibid.*, 38.46.

[77] *Hinduism.*, p. 72.

[78] His translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. III, Preface, p. xviii Comp. also 'The Buddhist conception of the Pratyeka-Buddhas might have influenced the development of the theory'—*The Classical Age* (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana), p. 415.

The success of Hinduism, therefore is mainly due to the fact that the Purāṇas, the propagating authorities of Hinduism, built up on the foundations of Vedic heritage and traditions[80]. A sincere and deep regard for the Vedas as well as the rites prescribed by them is palpably visible throughout the Purāṇas. Even where the Tīrthas and the Vratas are glorified they are done so because they promise merit equal to that accruing through the performance of a Vedic rite. The Tīrthas are glorified because it is stated, the Vedas and the Yajñas are bodily present there[81]. When Sāvitrī enumerates the gateways to meritorious deeds before the God of death, mention of Yajña comes first in the list[82].

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[79] Comp. 'Brāhmaṇism is a religion which may be described as all theology, for it makes God everything, and everything God. Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology, but rather a system of duty, morality and benevolence, without real deity, prayer or priest'— M. Williams, *Hinduism.*, p. 52.

[80] Comp. 'The title 'Veda' is sometimes given to them', and the word Ṛk and also apparently Sūkta to their verses'—Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Chap. II, p. 29-30.

[81] Comp. *tatra vedāś ca yajñāś ca mūrtimanto yudhiṣṭhira*—*Matsya*. 110.90 ; *sarvayajñeṣu yat puṇyam avimykte tad āpnuyād*—*ibid*. 185.54. It is said that Indra becomes the king of gods by performing Yajña in the Jāmadagnya Tīrtha—*ibid*., 194.35, 47. In fact the more the Tīrthas are glorified in a Purāṇa, the more it is of late origin.

[82] *tasya dvārāṇi yajanam tapo dānaṃ damaḥ kṣamā |*
brahmacaryaṃ tathā satyaṃ tīrthānuśaraṇaṃ śubham ||
svādhyāyasevā sādhūnāṃ sahavāsaḥ surārcanam |
gurūṇāṃ caiva śuśrūṣā brāhmaṇānāṃ ca pūjanam ||
indriyāṇāṃ jayaś caiva brahmacaryam amatsaram ||—*Matsya*., 212.20-22.

Being virtually connected with the life of the common people much more closely than the Vedic literature, the Purāṇas exhibit a wide catholicity of outlook in their conception of Dharma and regards it as the great sustainer'[83]. The religion of the Vedas being preached by few sages and accessible to the wealthy few of the society is narrow in character, while that of the Purāṇas being framed by the temple-priests, propagated by the Sūtas and meant for people belonging to all walks of life, is ecclesiastical and rational in character[84].

The role of the Vedas and the Vedic Mantras is also not inconsiderable. In dealing with the rites, ceremonies, usages and religious views which are different from Vedic tradition, the Purāṇas provide ample scope for employment of Vedic Mantras, all types of liturgical formulae, Praiṣa, Gāthā, Śloka etc. Many passages in the Purāṇas quote Vedic Mantras *verbatim* or by parts or when not actually quoting the very words of the Vedic texts give a very close paraphrase of them that is, at times, agreeably surprising, or press into service famous Vedic legends for the glorification of holy places. *Vāyu P.*[84a] is couched almost in the same words as *Rv.*[84b]. A close resemblance with Upaniṣadic text is found in *Kū. Upa.*[84c], *Agni P.*[84d]. Some passages are often met with which are nothing but Vedic verses reproduced in Paurāṇic forms[85]. *Vāyu P.*[85a] is close to *Ṛv.*[85b] *Vāyu P*[85c]. reminds us of *Ṛv.*[85d]. Many passages are there that present a very lucid explanations of some allegorical Ṛk-verses[86]. In describing the churning of the ocean, *Agni P.* draws an analogy with the Vedic system of churning of the fire (Agni-manthana)[87] and expresses it with the help of ritualistic terminology. In describing the person of Viṣṇu in His Boar-incarnation we clearly see the influence of the Vedic heritage[88].

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[83] *dharmeti dhāraṇe dhātur māhātmye caiva paṭhyate|*

dhāraṇāc ca mahattvena dharma eṣa nirucyate ||—ibid., 134.17;
for similar views vide *Agni.*, 161.11-17, *Vāyu.*, 59.270 etc.

[84] Comp. 'The various treatises on temples and image-worship took their shape after Hinduism grew out of Vedism'—Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 125.

[84a] 6.99.

[84b] x.90.12.

[84c] 9.12 and 10.13.

[84d] 382.21f.

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[85] Comp. *śaṃ no'stu dvipade nityaṃ śam no'stu catuṣpade—Vāyu.*, 27.59;
mathitoyas tv araṇyām vai so'gniragniḥ samidhyate—
ibid., 29.38;

sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt |
sarvavyāpī bhuvaḥ sparśād atyatiṣthad daśāṅgulam ||

[85a] 30.184.

[85b] 1.10.1.

[85c] 97.60—62.

[85d] 1.154.i.

[86] *Viṣṇu*, 1.12.59-9; 61-63 and also comp. *Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.95-986). *Matsya.*, 125.41—43 reads—

chandobhir vājirupais tair yathācakraṃ samāsthitaiḥ |
vāruṇasya rathasyeha lakṣaṇaiḥ sadṛśaś ca saḥ ||
tenāsau carati vyomni bhāsvān anudinaṃ divi |
athaṅgāni tu sūryasya pratyaṅgāni rathasya ca ||
saṃvatsarasy āvayavaiḥ kalpitāni yathākramam |
ahar nābhi tu sūryasya ekacakrasya vai smṛtaḥ ||
arāḥ saṃvatsarās tasya nemyaḥ ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ smṛtāḥ ||

This portion can be regarded as explaining some allegorical verses on Sūrya in *Ṛv.* 1.164; comp. also, *Brahmāṇḍa.*, 56.37ff; *Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.7.

[87] *manthānaṃ mandaraṃ kṛtvā netraṃ kṛtvā tu*
vāsukim—Agni., 276.16; also *Viṣṇu.*, 1.9. 77, 83.

[88] Comp. *vedapādo yūpadaṃṣṭraṃ kratudantaś citīmukhaḥ—Matsya.*, 248.67—73; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.4.25, 29; *Vāyu.*, 6.16—23. Yasodā with Yoganidrā in her womb is called *phalagarbhā tvamevejyā vahnigarbhā tathāraṇiḥ—Viṣṇu.*, 5.2.9. When missiles hurled by the demons at Viṣṇu enter the latter's person, it is expressed with the help of a simile taken from the ancient practice of the oral teaching of the Vedas by a preceptor to his disciple—

tāny astrāṇi prayuktāni śarīraṃ viviśur hareḥ |
gurūktāny upadiṣṭāni sac chiṣyasya smṛtāv iva ||—Matsya., 151.9.

The hymns of the *Ṛgveda* from the teeth of Viṣṇu in his Vāmana-incarnation—*Matsya.*, 245.60.

In a passage of the *Viṣṇu P.*, the import of a liturgical formula is surprisingly brought out[89].

The doctrine of Trinity that is commonly regarded as the peculiar contribution of the Purāṇas is believed by Monier Williams to be rooted in the Vedas and he says that 'a change of name in Hindu mythology does not necessarily imply the creation of a new deity'[90]. Wheeler[91] also agrees with M. Williams when he says that Viṣṇu of the Purāṇas is an old Vedic conception more or less associated with the Sun'. Wilson, though himself not advocating a Vedic basis for the doctrine of the Triple manifestion, yet admits that 'according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Tri-mūrti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus'[92]. Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* gives Viṣṇu as one of the names of the Sun-god[93]. The number 'three' which forms the very basis of the classification of the Vedic gods probably serves as the motive power behind the doctrine of Triple manifestation[94]. The concept of Triple manifestations representing the three distinct functions of creation

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Ṛv. 1.22.17 may be taken as forming the very basis of the Vāmanaincarnation. The Vedic literature supplies the basis of the Boar-incarnation too. *The Classical Age* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana), p. 415.

[89] Comp. *prabhā vivasvato rātrāv astaṃ gacchati bhāskare |*

visaty agnim ato rātrau vahnir dūrāt prakāśate ||

vahnipādas tathā bhānuṃ dineṣv āviśati dvija |
atīva vahnisṃyogād ataḥ sūryaḥ prakāśate ||
—*Viṣṇu.*, 2.8.21-22.

[90] *Hinduism*, p. 17-8; the triad of the Purāṇas—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara—has, according to him their Vedic counterparts in Agni, the Sun-god and Rudra respectively—*ibid.*, p. 63.

[91] *India : Vedic and Post-Vedic.*, p. 75.

[92] His translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, Preface p. 25.

[93] The *tri-vikrama* or the three steps of Viṣṇu have been often explained as referring to the three positions of the Sun—its rise in the eastern horizon, culmination in the mid-sky and setting on the western horizon.

[94] Even where the number of gods swells to 3339 (*Ṛv.* 3.9.9; 10.52.6 *VS* 33.7; *T.Br.* 2.7.12.2), it still remains a multiplication of 3.

(*sṛṣṭi*) sustenance (sthiti) and dissolution (laya) may also be said to be rooted in later Vedic literature[95]. Idolatry forming the special feature of the Paurāṇic society is no invention of that period. Image-cult is not unknown to the Vedic society. Evidences are there to show that the Vedic Ṛṣis conceived God both as corporal as well as incorporal. In *Ṛv.* 7. 100.6, the Ṛṣi asks Viṣṇu not to hide His form. In another, *Ṛv.* 10.130.3, the word Pratimā actually occurs.

The religious rites prescribed in the Purāṇas are of Gṛhya character and they do not require the three śrauta fires for their accomplishment. The Purāṇas advance a myth according to which the household (gārhapatya) fire is the original one and the introduction of the other two is made by Aila Purūravā at a much later epoch[96]. It is plausible that the Vedic Āryans developed, as is very natural for a race in its religious commencements, its elaborate system of domestic rites and ceremonies before diverting its attention to working up a highly complex structure of śrauta rituals. Such an inference would place the Gṛhyasūtras even before the Brāhmaṇa texts which are the first ritual treatises available. But the Gṛhysūtras at a much later period being the only systematised works dealing with Gṛhya rites, we have practically no warrant in asserting with confidence the hypothesis we already framed about the chronological priority of Gṛhya literature, unless we try to explain the absence of such a one by putting forward a theory of wholesale destruction a that might have easily taken place during the untold vistas of centuries or have faith in the belief that what was lacking was not a set form of Gṛhya rituals but was either the enthusiasm or the skill to prepare out of the prevalent[97] mass of domestic rites systematised ritual treatises.

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[95] In the verse—*eka eva rudro'vatasthe na dvitīyo raṇe nighnanpṛtmāsu śatrūn, saṃsṛjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopā pratyaṅ janān saṃcukocāntakāle* (partially quoted in *Nirukta* 1.15), the three functions are combined into one god, Rudra.

[96] The story is elaborately given in *Viṣṇu.*, 4.6.35—46; also comp.

aśvatthād araṇiṃ kṛtvā mathitvā'gniṃ yathāvidhi |
mathitvā'gniṃ tridhā kṛtvā hy ayajat sa narādhipaḥ ||
eko' gniṃ pūrvam āsīd vai ailas trīṃs tān akalpayat ||—*Vāyu.*, 91,46-7.

The Purāṇas believe that the *Yajurveda*—the Veda for the rituals, as the very name indicates—is the only one existing since the most ancient times, and of which the three other Vedas are mere sub-divisions[98] at a later epoch. If it is held that division of the Vedas into distinct collections is necessitated by the growing complexities of rituals and that this is done to facilitate the performance of the respective duties of the four chief priests, it must be admitted after due consideration of the aforesaid myth that the *Yajurveda* referred to in the *Kūrma P.*[98a] was the Veda for the Gṛhya rituals and was the earliest forerunner of the whole ritual literature we possess today.

By the introduction of the aforesaid myth and by declaring that the *Yajurveda* is the original Veda, the authors of the Purāṇas were able to convince the society that the Gṛhya-rituals preceded their Śrauta counterparts in the evolution of ritual history and, therefore, a relegation, if not rejection, of the latter would only mean a go back to a practice sanctified by both originality and antiquity.

The above discussion shows that the set of traditions propagated by the Purāṇas is basically founded on the Vedic heritage. Since the Saṃhitā-period, the Vedic Mantras undergo successive phases of liturgical application, the last phase being represented by the Purāṇas and differing from the earlier ones in point of domesticity. A comparative and historical study of the Viniyoga phases of the Vedic Mantras presents a formidable and yet an interesting task which, if ever completed by anybody, will render yeoman service to the proper understanding of the elixir that sustains the continuity of Mantra application throughout this long stretch of time. The question of the propriety of the liturgical employment of the Vedic Mantras presents a tough problem and can be answered only after a careful investigation of every single Mantra citation in the perspective of all the rituals it accompanies in different phases.

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[97] In the light of the aforesaid myth of the introduction of the two Śrauta fires at a much later epoch by Purūravā, it becomes impossible to deny a chronological priority of those mantras in the *Ṛgveda* that are originally composed even in that age for being used in domestic rites. Comp. 'There are indeed traces of hymns made for such occasions (household ceremonies) as the ploughing, the return of the cattle from the pasture, their driving in and driving out, but these are almost isolated. There are, however, hymns for marriage and the funeral ritual and a few hymns dealing with magic rites, such as the removal of jaundice by the Sun, the prevention of miscarriage and the prognostication of misfortune' Keith—*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (H. O. S. Vol. 31), p. 256.

[98] Comp. *eka āsīd yajurvedas taṃ caturdhā vyakalpayat |*
cāturhotram abhūd yasmiṃs tena yajñam athākarot ||
—*Viṣṇu.*, 3.3.11.

[98a] 3.3.11.

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1943
Allahabad.

THE YOGI-YĀJNAVALKYA SMṚTI AND ITS UTILISATION IN THE MEDIAEVAL DIGESTS OF BENGAL AND MITHILĀ

By Prof. BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

THIS Smṛti is different from the famous *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, as its very name implies. It has recently (1951) been critically edited with a Sanskrit introduction by Svāmī Kuvalayānanda and Pandit Raghunāthaśāstri Kokaje and published from Lonavla (Poona district) as '*Bṛhat-yogi-yājñavalkya smṛti*.' It consists of 12 chapters with verses ranging between 20 and 198 in the several chapters, the total number of verses being 928. It deals with *ācāra*, its 7*th* chapter being concerned with ceremonial ablutions. The printed edition is based on the collation of two MSS., deposited in the libraries of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* of Poona and *India Office* of London respectively. The learned editors have supplemented the text with an appendix, containing a well-arranged collection of verses of Yogi-Yājñavalkya (Yogi-Yāj.) from several published digests but missing in the two MSS., collated for this edition. The object of the present paper is to investigate the utilisation of the Yogi-Yāj. by Ballāla Sena, Caṇḍeśvara, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, all but the second of whom belonged to Bengal and the second only to Mithilā, all of them having flourished between the 12*th* and 16*th* centuries of the Christian era.

(1) Ballāla Sena (1158—1179 A. D.)

The *Dānasāgara*[1] (*D. S.*) *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*[2] are the two extant[3] works of the Bengal king, Ballāla

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[1] Edited by the present writer and published by the Asiatic Society, 1956, as work No. 274, *Bibliotheca Indica*.

[2] Edited by Muralidhar Jha and published by Prabhakart & Co., Varaṇasi, 1905.

[3] Ballāla Sena wrote at least three other works, viz., *Ācārasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara* and *Vratasāgara*. The introductory verses 56 and 55—

Sena. Of these, the latter contains no quotation whatsoever from the *Yogi-yāj.*, concerned as it is with *śānti*, i.e. propitiatory rites only. But the former contains a fair number of the *Yogi-yāj.* quotations, it also having mentioned both *Yājña-valkya* and *Yogi-yājñavalkya* among its authorities on p. 3 in its introductory verses 16 and 17 respectively. The *Yogi-yāj.* quotations in the *Dānasāgara* concentrate mainly in its chapter on *paribhāṣā* (i.e. technical terms), included within its introductory portion, while its chap. 43 on *vidyā-dāna* (i.e. gift of learning) contains a single quotation of one verse and a half only from the *Yogi-yāj.* Almost all of the above verses with the solitary exception of that on p. 53 of *D. S.* are found in the printed edition of the *Yogi-yāj.* It may be added here that though the three verses on pp. 52, 56 and 57 are prefixed with the word 'Yājñavalkyaḥ', yet they are really *Yogi-yāj.* verses. The Brahmacārīkāṇḍa of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (pp. 63-64) has ascribed these verses to the *Yogi-yāj.* and the present writer has noted this fact in the footnotes of the relevant pages of his edition of *D. S.*, as the *Yogi-yāj. Smṛti* had up till then not been published. The first two *Yogi-yāj.* verses (on pp. 52 and 53) in the *D. S.* relate to moral conduct and mode of wearing clothes respectively at the time of religious observances and the last one and a half verses (on p. 491 in the chap. of gift of learning) define seven books of the *siddhānta* class, while those on the pages 55, 56-57 and 63 are concerned with the procedure of *japa* (i.e. inaudible muttering of mantras as a mode of worship) and the importance of *vidhi* (i.e. due formality) and *śraddhā* (i.e. faith in religious actions).

(p. 6 of the published edition) of the *Dānasāgara* record the names of the first two works, while the existence of the third is inferred from two references on pp. 52 and 59 of the above edition of the same. *Vide* also the present writer's paper, *viz.*, 'Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena' (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 141—44 at p. 144).

(2) Caṇḍeśvara (1290—1370 A. D.)

Of the seven *Smṛti-ratnākaras* of this Maithila digest-writer, the following three viz. *Kṛtyaratnākara*,[4] *Gṛhastha°* and *Vivāda°* have been published, while the following two viz. *Śuddhiratnākara*[5] and *Dānaratnākara*[6] exist in MSS. only. The first two of the published works and the unpublished *Dānaratnākara* only contain quotations from the *Yogi-yāj.*

(a) *Kṛtyaratnākara* (*K. R.*)

Though the *K. R.* mentions on p. 30[7] in the sub-chapter on *pramaṇa* (i.e. sources) in the chapter on *dharmanirūpaṇa* (i.e. determination of dharma) the work of the *Yogi-yāj.* as one of the reputed sources of dharma to be followed on appropriate occasions, yet its five groups of quotations from the same on pp. 46, 47, 49-50, 51 and 63-64, amounting to 16 verses only, are identical with first five among the six groups of *Yogi-yāj.* quotations in the *D. S.*, which latter work is also explicitly mentioned on p. 51 of the *K. R.* in the phrase '*iti sāgaraḥ*' (i.e. as quoted from the *Sāgāra*, an obvious abbreviation of the *D. S.*) after the *Yogi-yaj.* quotation, thus, clearly showing that the *K. R.* quotations are second hand ones, being from the *D. S.* and not from the *Yogi-yāj.* itself. Four of the above five groups of quotations, i.e., almost all except that on p. 47, the last three verses on pp. 49-50 and two out of seven verses on pp. 63-64, are found in the printed *Yogi-yāj.*

(b) *Gṛhastharatnākara* (*Gṛ. R.*)

The *Gṛ. R.* quotes the *Yogi-yāj.* not less than 30 times in its chapters on *prātaḥ-snāna*, *kriyā-snāna*, *sandhyopāsana*,

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[4] All these three works have been edited by the late MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the *Bibliotheca Indica* between 1925 and 1931.

[5] Asiatic Society MS. No. 3826 of the Govt. of India collection.

[6] Poona Deccan College MS. No. 114 of 1884-5.

[7] वृद्धशातातप—वृद्धमनु—योगियाज्ञवल्क्य—वृद्धवसिष्ठ—लघुहारीतादीनि तु प्रसिद्धान्तर्गतान्येवावस्थाभेदेन तैरेव करणात्।

japa and *tarpaṇa* (pp. 191—268). Most of these quotations, which are big ones, ranging between 17 and 45 lines, are found with occasional different readings in the printed *Yogi-yāj.* (chaps. 1, 4 and 6—8). A big quotation of 25 lines on pp. 243-44 is partly the same as the two verses of the quotation of five verses on pp. 49-50 and as the three verses of that of seven verses on pp. 63-64 of the *K. R.* The latter half of another big quotation of 17 lines on pp. 241-42 is the same as the remaining four verses on the last-mentioned pages of K. R. The first of the three unidentified verses out of five in the quotation on p. 219 is the same as the third one on pp. 49-50 of the *K. R.*

(3) Govindānanda (1500—1540 A. D.)

Of the four published works of this author, the following two only, viz. the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (*V. K. K.*) and *Śuddhikaumudī* (*S. K.*), quote the *Yogi-yāj.* twice, once in each case. The *V. K. K.* quotation on p. 503, consisting of a half-verse only, is the same as the second quotation on p. 263 of the *Gṛ. R.* and the S. K. citation on p. 298, consisting of a single verse only, is also identical with the second one on p. 217 of the *Gṛ. R.* Both the quotations are found in the 7th chap. of the *Yogi-yāj.* (vv. 87b and 154).

(4) Raghunandana (1500—1575 A. D.)

As the present writer has fully described Raghunandana's utilisation of the *Yogi-yāj.* in his monograph '*Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors*' (*Asiatic Society*, 1955), he does not intend to repeat it here but refers the readers to his above-mentioned work (pp. 17—18, pp. 124-127).

It may be stated in conclusion that this *Yogi-yājñavalkya-smṛti* is entirely different from the *Yoga-yājñavalkya*, a work on *Yoga*, a critical edition of the latter having been recently published by Mr. P. C. Divanji as supplements to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The attention of readers is also referred to his paper viz. '*Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya smṛti* and the *Yogi-yājñavalkya*' (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXXIV, 1953, pp. 1—29).

Appendix of the quotations

[N.B.—As all the *Yogi-yāj.* quotations in the K.R. are identical with those in *D.S.* and as also the two citations in the *V. K. K.* and the *S. K.* are together the same as the two out of many such in the *Gṛ. R.*, so we have omitted the quotations in the *K. R.*, the *V. K. K.* and the *S. K.* from this Appendix and dealt only with those in the *D.S.* and the *Gṛ. R.*]

(1) *D. S.* quotations

D. S. *Yogi-yāj.*

1. p. 52 = 7/37—(योगि-) याज्ञवल्क्यः—'न कुर्यात् . .चाचरन्।'
2. p. 53 = —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'परिधानाद्बहिः . . . प्रयत्नतः'।
3. p. 55 = 7/147 & 149—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'स्त्रीशूद्र . . . . . . पुनर्जपेत्'।
(2 verses) . . . योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः— विधिदृष्टन्तु . . . . . . दुष्कृतात्मनः।
(3 verses) (not found in Yogi-yāj.)
4. pp. 56-7=7/148 and 34—तथा च (योगि-) याज्ञवल्क्यः—'यदि वाग्यमलोपः
. . . स्यादिति श्रुतिः'।
5. p. 63 =7/131-2, 135, 137-39—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'उपांशुजपयुक्तस्य—
एकाग्रमनसैव हि'। (The 1st v. not found in Yogi-yāj.)
6. p. 491 =2/67a-68a—सिद्धान्ताश्च योगियाज्ञवल्क्येनोक्ताः। तथा च योगि-
याज्ञवल्क्यः-'हैरण्यगर्भैः . . . सिद्धान्तैरत्र सप्तभिः'।

(2) *Gṛ. R.* quotations (identified ones only)

Gṛ. R. Yogi-yāj.

1. p. 191 = 6/26—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'उभे सन्ध्ये . . . च तपस्विभिः'। (Yogi-
yāj. reads ब्रह्मवादिना च for तपस्विभिः)
2. pp. 202-3=6/27-30—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —'कालदोषाद् . . . अन्यथा मार्जनं
भवेत्'।

Gṛ. R. *Yogi-yāj.*

3. p. 212 = 7168-9, —योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—'योऽसौ विस्तरतः . . .
170a and 171b समुद्दिष्टं महात्मभिः'।

4. p. 217 = 7/154 —(योगि–)याज्ञवल्क्यः . . . . तथा—‘अग्राह्यास्त्वागता
. . . . . .तीर्थाद्विनिःसृताः’ ॥

5. p. 219 = 7/40-41—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः · · · · तथा—‘यावद्देवान् · · · देवा
महर्षयः’ ॥

6. p. 223 = 6/1 and 4—तत्र योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि. . .·.·.·
अन्त्यजन्मगतोऽपि सन्’ ॥

7. p. 225 = 6/11 and 25a—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘ह्रासवृद्धी · · नोदिते रवौ’ ॥

8. pp. 225—7=6/5-6, 9,—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः –‘ओंकारं · · · · · सन्धिरुच्यते’ ॥
10b, 12—19a,
20-21

9. pp. 227—30=6/25b—पुनर्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘सन्ध्यात्रयन्तु · · · · · विशेषतः’॥
—30,
1/27 (cf.
4/2a and 3b)

10. p. 236 = 6/2 and 8—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘सन्ध्या येन · · · · · · निन्दितः’ ॥

11. pp. 237—8 = 8/22—25—तदुक्तं योगियाज्ञवल्क्येन—‘नासिकाकृष्ट · · · · ·
पापनाशनम्’ ॥

12. p. 238 = cf. 8/9—पुनर्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘पूरककुम्भकरेचकैः प्राणायाम-
स्त्रिलक्षणो ज्ञेयः’ ।

13. p. 240 = 8/46—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘प्राणत्रयायमनं · · · · · स्मृतम्’ ॥

14. p. 243 = 7/140—‘ध्यायेत मनसा · · · नैव प्रकाशयेत्’ इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्योक्तं मानसजपविषयं मन्तव्यम् ।

Gr. R. *Yogi-yāj*.

15. pp. 243-44= 7/131-2,—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘न चंक्रमन्न · · · · · उपधर्मोऽन्य
147 and 149 उच्यते’ ॥
(partly identified)

16. p. 263 = 7/87b—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—‘सवर्णेभ्यो जलं देयं नान्यवर्णे कदाचन’ ।

17. p. 268 = 7/40-41—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘यावद्देवान् · · · महर्षिभिः’ ॥
(The same as the 5*th* quotation of the *Gr*. R. on p. 223)

18. p. 268 = 7/44 and 46.—योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः —‘वस्त्रनिष्पीडितं · · · · ·
सुविस्तरम्’ ॥

1943
Allahabad.

PROLOGUES IN THE BHĀSA PLAYS*

By Dr. G. K. Bhat

The prologues in the Bhāsa plays must be viewed in the light of the dramatic practice prevalent on the Sanskrit stage. Thus viewed, there is a possibility that a proper explanation of their particular character may be furnished.

I

The dramatic practice on the ancient Indian stage reveals three or four distinct phases of development. The oldest practice must naturally have been that enunciated by Bharata. This consisted of an elaborate *pūrvaraṅga* comprising 19 items[1]. The first 9 of these items were performed behind the curtain; the next 10, on the stage in the presence of the audience. Many of these latter items, too, were concerned with music and dance. The items which are significant for the drama proper are *nāndī* (13th), *raṅgadvāra* (16th), *trika* (18th) and *prarocanā* (19th): *Nāndī* was a formal prayer sung to propitiate the gods. In *trika* the Sūtradhāra with the help of the Vidūṣaka and the Pāripārśvika (the three forming the *trika* or trio) introduced by means of light talk, the drama and the dramatist. *Raṅgadvāra* consisted of a verse which was sung to the accompaniment of gestures (*abhinaya*) and was, thus, a foretaste of the dramatic performance. Finally, *prarocanā*, which was the last item of the *pūrvaraṅga*, was an appeal to the audience to secure their interest and attention in the performance. These four items, namely, *nāndī*, *raṅgadvāra*, *trika* and *prarocanā*, which must have been 'written and arranged in a set form by the director of the dramatic company[2], contain the entire material of the prologue of the drama. This may be called the *pūrvaraṅga* phase.

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* Paper submitted to the 19th session of A.I.O.C., Delhi, 1957.

[1] See, Prof. R. B. Athavle's Paper, *The Problem of Nāndī and Pūrvaraṅga*, read before the Classical Section of the A.I.O.C., Ahmedabad, 1953, and published in '*Oriental Thought*' (1954). I am indebted to prof. Athavle for the discussion on the interpretation of theoretical passages—

The *pūrvaraṅga* was a very heavy performance and was apt to be tiresome to the audience that had collected mainly to witness the dramatic performance. Bharata himself seems to be aware of this psychological reaction of the audience, and provides fot cutting down a good deal of musical portion from the *pūrvaraṅga*[3]. But this was not all. A dramatist must have felt that he should have his own *maṅgala* and that he should properly introduce his own play and himself to the audience. This desire on the part of a dramatist was quite natural; because, the introduction performed by the manager of the dramatic company must have been more or less of a formal or set pattern. So, while on the one hand the *pūrvaraṅga* was gradually curtailed, the dramatist, on the other hand, started providing his own benedictory verse and the introduction to his play. Thus, in course of time, there came to be established two *prastāvanās*, as it were; one, that of the Sūtradhāra as an integral part of the *pūrvaraṅga*, and the other, that of the dramatist himself, written as part of the text of the drama. Both were naturally performed one after the other, and just before the actual dramatic performance. The texts of the extant classical Sanskrit plays do not furnish any open clue to this development of dramatic practice; but the stage-direction, 'Then at the conclusion of the *nāndī*, enters the Sūtradhāra'[4], and the Sūtradhāra's statement, 'Enough of prolixity'[5], at the beginning of his prose speech, found in many plays, are significant pointers in this direction. In fact, they cannot be properly explained unless the older and elaborate *pūrvaraṅga* is presumed to have been performed earlier. It is not, however, necessary to depend upon inference only for this conclusion; for, the testimony of Abhinava clearly vouches for the existence of the two *prastāvanās* on the Sanskrit stage.[6] This may be called the phase of the double *prastāvanā*.

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS, V. 165—167.

[4] Cf. 'नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः ।'

[5] Cf. 'अलमतिविस्तरेण' etc.

When the two prologues existed side by side on the Sanskrit stage, the normal practice probably was that the Sūtradhāra performed the *pūrvaraṅga* and departed; then another person, like the Sūtradhāra, from the dramatic company, appeared on the stage and performed the prologue of the dramatist.[7] From this point of view, the dramatist's prologue can properly be called *sthāpanā*, and the actor who performed it can be called Sthāpaka, since this was *establishing* the author's prologue. There is an indirect testimony derived from some plays which contain these particular names and which thus suggest the particular dramatic practice.[8]

This practice of the double *prastāvanā* must have continued for some time. But the superfluity of one of the prologues was quite obvious; and it was natural that one of them should have been dropped. In this struggle the dramatist seems to have won in the end. The *pūrvaraṅga*, already suffering a process of curtailment, came to be dropped completely, and the dramatist's prologue was established in its place. Now, the entire prologue, including the *nāndī*, was written by the dramatist; and it was performed by the director of the dramatic company. This development, when the prologue of the dramatist took the place of the old *pūrvaraṅga*, may be called the phase of the dramatist's prologue. This development is recorded by Viśvanātha.[9]

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[6] See, Abhinava's *Comm.* on NŚ., V. 180 (GOS, pp. 251—152).

[7] Cf. (a) *NŚ.*, GOS, V. 172=173, pp. 249-250:

प्रयुज्य विधिनैवं तु पूर्वरंगं प्रयोगतः ॥
स्थापकः प्रविशेत् तत्र सूत्रधारगुणाकृतिः ।

(b) *Daśarūpaka*, III. 2 :

पूर्वरंगं विधायादौ सूत्रधारे विनिर्गते ।
प्रविश्य तद्वदपरः काव्यमास्थापयेन्नटः ॥

(c) *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI, 26 :

पूर्वरंगं विधायैवं सूत्रधारो निवर्तते ।
प्रविश्य स्थापकस्तद्वत् काव्यमास्थापयेत्ततः ॥

[8] Cf., for instance, the Prologues in *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara, and *Abhinavarāghava* of Kṣīraswāmin. See, also Prof. Āthavle's Paper, op. cit.

It appears that, though the *pūrvaraṅga* was dropped, an exception was made in the case of the *nāndī* which was allowed to remain as an essential element of the ceremonial opening of the drama.[10] The *nāndī*, however, was written by the dramatist himself; only he attempted to model it on the lines suggested by Bharata; and it was shown separated, as it were, in the text as a mark of deference to Bharata.

When the dramatist's prologue was established on the stage, a few variations only were possible in the dramatic practice. They are recorded by Rucipati.[11] According to him, the dramatist's *nāndī* was sung by some one and then the Sūtradhāra entered to perform the dramatist's prologue; sometimes, the Sūtradhāra, himself known by the name of Nāndī, sang the *nāndī* verse from behind the curtain and then entered to perform the rest of the prologue.

II

The prologues in the Bhāsa plays reveal the following characteristics on an analytical examination:

1. They begin with a *nāndī* invocation; the only exception is *Cārudatta* which does not contain the *nāndī* verse.

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[9] Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. Viśvanātha's comm. on VI, 25. See, also *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, GOS, p. 155.

[10] Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. 23:

प्रत्याहारादिकान्यंगान्यस्य (पूर्वरंगस्य) भूयांसि यद्यपि।
तथाप्यवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी विघ्नोपशान्तये॥

[11] Rucipati's Comm. on *Anarghyarāghava* by Murāri, Kāvyamālā No. 5, pp. 7-8.

2. Paronamastic phrasing (technically, the figure of speech known as *Mudrā*) is used in the *nāndī* verse to suggest the names of the *dramatis personae* in 5 out of the 13 plays (namely, *Svapna*, *Pratijñā*, *Pratimā*, *Pañcarātra* and *Ūrubhaṅga*).

3. The gods invoked in the *nāndī* verses are:

    (i) Balarāma : *Svapna*.
    (ii) Skanda : *Pratijñā*.
    (iii) Rāma : The two *Rāmāyaṇa* plays, namely, *Pratimā*, *Abhiṣeka*.
    (iv) Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa : All the *Mahābhārata plays* and, *Bālacarita* and *Avimāraka*.

4. The prologues are called *sthāpanā*.

5. The technique employed in the prologues shows some variations:

(A) Monologue is used, and only the Sūtradhāra appears in 7 plays. Here, the procedure is:

(i) The Sūtradhāra is about to address the audience, when he hears 'some kind of noise';

(ii) This is followed by an utterance behind the curtain;

(iii) In an attempt to explain the 'noise' and the utterance, the Sūtradhāra introduces—

(a) the character that opens the main scene (*Svapna*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Bālacarita*);

(b) the main scene (*Pañcarātra*, *Madhyamavyāyoga*, *Dūtavākya*);

(c) the background of the play (*Dūtaghaṭotkaca*).

(B) Dialogue is used in the remaining 6 plays, but here there are further variations.

(a) In *Abhiṣeka* and *Ūrubhaṅga*, the Pāripārśvika, or the Assistant, figures with the Sūtradhāra. There is a reference to the 'noise' in both the plays. But—

(i) in *Abhiṣeka*, it is described by the Assistant as an 'ear-splitting' noise, and he questions the Sūtradhāra about it.

(ii) In attempting to explain the cause of the noise, the Sūtradhāra summarises the background and introduces the event and characters of the main scene.

(iii) In *Ūrubhaṅga*, the source of the noise is the movements of the soldiers on the battlefield. In answering the question of the Assistant about the movements, the Sūtradhāra introduces the topic of the mace-fight.

(b) In *Pratijñā*, *Avimāraka*, *Pratimā* and *Cārudatta*, it is the Naṭī who appears along with the Sūtradhāra. The variations here are as follows:

(1) In *Pratijñā* and *Pratimā*, the Naṭī is asked to sing a song.

(i) In *Pratimā*, she actually sings; then there is an utterance behind the curtain;

(ii) In *Pratijñā*, she does not sing because she is worried about a bad dream which has made her apprehensive about the well-being of the relatives; the Sūtradhāra promises to send a messenger; Then there is an utterance behind the curtain.

(iii) In both these plays, however, the Sūtradhāra's verse which follows the utterance behind the curtain, contains a simile which helps to introduce the character that opens the main scene.

(2) In *Avimāraka* and *Cārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī converse with each other.

(i) In *Avimāraka*, the Naṭī expresses a desire to go to the park;

Immediately, there is an announcement behind the curtain;

The character referred to in the announcement appears in the *second* scene after the opening of the first act.

(ii) In *Cārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī are talking about food and religious fast; An invitation is given to a Brāhmaṇa; The Brāhmaṇa who is the Vidūṣaka in the play, opens the main scene.

III

The apparent simplicity and the similarity of pattern that is discernible in these prologues may lead some one to assume that they are written and arranged by the manager of the dramatic company. In other words, they may belong to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase. Such an assumption is bound to be erroneous, and for a number of reasons :

(i) The paronamastic phrasing employed in the *nāndī* verse of some of these plays, however artificial it may be, is too clever for the manager of the dramatic company; much less can we think of its repetition with appropriate variations in word and sense.

(ii) The fact that the other plays have a distinct *nāndī* verse of their own belies the assumption of a conventional set pattern.

(iii) A little consideration will show that there is a particular appropriateness about the *nāndī* verses : (a) The equivocal verses, of course, suggest the characters in the particular plays, and contain a remote reference to the story in them. (b) The god invoked in each verse is appropriate to the theme of the play: The theme of the *Svapna* is concerned with *bala*; both the *strength* of intellect and of army are required to reinstate the hero on his lost throne and to bring about a happy reunion of the deliberately separated lovers. *Pratijñā* is a play of bold strategy and daring adventure on the part of the Minister; moreover, it is *a play without a heroine*. The invocation to Skanda is, therefore, both appropriate and significant. The two Rāmāyaṇa plays invoke Rāma, who is a god and also the hero of the plays. The same consideration applies to the *Bālacarita*, where Dāmodara is the hero of the play and an incarnation of god. The Mahābhārata playsi nvoke Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in one form or the other; and this is natural because the Mahābhārata story is dominated by the personality of Kṛṣṇa who is definitely conceived as a godhead. Especially significant is the invocation in the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*, where Nārāyaṇa is described as the Sūtradhāra of the drama of the three worlds. The theme of this play is concerned with the uncertain issue of political negotiations the end of which can be forestalled by a divine agency only. Further, the theme is a new creation of the author; and while presenting it on the stage, what is natural but he should invoke the god as a Sūtradhāra? In *Avimāraka* Viṣṇu is invoked probably for a double reason: The real name of the hero is Viṣṇusena; the royal families seem to be connected with Viṣṇu, since Nārada actually appears on the scene to advise the father of the heroine on the question of her marriage.

(iv) The gods invoked in these plays are nearly identical, with the exception of *Pratijñā* only. Balarāma who is invoked in the *Svapna* is in fact the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa; the identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu is open; but the identity of Rāma with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is also clearly assumed in the *nāndī* verses of the *Avimāraka* and of the *Bālacarita*; in fact, the *nāndī* of the *Bālacarita* is remarkable for the identification of Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (Dāmodara), who are conceived as the four *avatāras* in the four *yugas*.[12] This should lead us to suppose that the deity invoked is not only appropriate (*samucita*) to the theme of each play, but it is a favourite deity (*iṣṭa*) of the author as well.

(v) The technique with which the prologues are presented is simple and nearly uniform in many of these plays. And yet, there are remarkable variations. There is monologue used in some plays, and dialogue in others; in this latter form there are further variations.

(vi) It is noteworthy that the technique of Kālidāsa's prologues bears a striking resemblance to that of Bhāsa's prologues. Kālidāsa addresses his *nāndī* verses to his own favourite deity. He uses the technique of referring to 'noise' behind the curtain, and in explanation of it by the Sūtradhāra suggests the opening scene of the play *Vikramorvaśīya*. In *Śākuntala*, the Naṭī sings a song; expressing his appreciation of her performance the Sūtradhāra uses a simile which introduces the scene and the character with which the play opens.[13] It is presumable that Kālidāsa is influenced by the technique of Bhāsa, and is not adopting the mode of *pūrvaraṅga* set by the dramatic companies.

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[12] *Avimāraka*, I, 1 c : 'सम्भुक्तां प्रीतिपूर्वं स्वभुजवशगतामेकचक्राभिगुप्तां (वसुधां)' ।

This is taken as a reference to the incarnation of Rāma. *Bālacarita*, I. 1 :

शङ्खक्षीरवपुः पुरा कृतयुगे नाम्ना तु नारायण-
स्त्रेतायां त्रिपदार्पितत्रिभुवनो विष्णुः सुवर्णप्रभः ।
दूर्वाश्यामनिभः स रावणवधे रामो युगे द्वापरे
नित्यं योऽञ्जनसंनिभः कलियुगे वः पातु दामोदरः ।।

[13] Read : (i) सूत्रधारः—(कर्णं दत्त्वा) अये, किं नु खलु मद्विज्ञापनानन्तरं (v.l. विज्ञापनाव्यग्रे मयि आर्तानां) कुररीणामिवाकाशे शब्दः श्रूयते।··· (विचिन्त्य) भवतु। ज्ञातम्।
ऊरुद्भवा नरसखस्य मुनेः सुरस्त्री कैलासनाथमुपसृत्य निवर्तमाना।
बन्दीकृता विबुधशत्रुभिरर्धमार्गे क्रन्दत्यतः शरणमप्सरसां गणोऽयम् ।।
Vik. I. 4.

(ii) तवास्मि गीतरागेण हारिणा प्रसभं हृतः।
एष राजेव दुष्यन्तः सारंगेणातिरंहसा ।। Śāk. I. 5

(vii) It is clear that the prologue as a whole, including the *nāndī* verse, is used in all the Bhāsa plays for suggesting the characters, event, background, the opening scene or the character who begins the first act, all connected with the dramatic story. Such a suggestive mode would appear to be beyond the capacity and purpose of the manager of a dramatic company.

(viii) Finally, these prologues bear a particular name, *sthāpanā*, which also reveals the hand of a dramatist.

These considerations lead to two inferences :

(1) The Bhāsa prologues are the creations of the dramatist.

(2) They cannot be put down to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase.

IV

There is no doubt that Bhāsa is an early author, who definitely preceded Kālidāsa. The question, therefore, is whether the Bhāsa prologues can be put down to the phase of double *prastāvanā*.

There are some considerations that seem to indicate the contrary : Though the Bhāsa prologues do not belong to the *pūrvaraṅga* phase, yet they differ from the prologues of the classical Sanskrit plays in some important details :

(i) The Bhāsa prologues begin with the Sūtradhāra and then the *nāndī* verse follows, while all the classical plays begin with the *nāndī* verse and the stage-direction that immediately follows indicates that the Sūtradhāra enters after the singing of the *nāndī* is over.

It is not only the reader of the present day who is struck by this peculiarity of the Bhāsa prologues; Bāṇa has noticed it as well.[14] But barring the particular position of the *nāndī* verse, there is *apparently* nothing that distinguishes the Bhāsa prologues from the prologues of the common classical plays. If, therefore, the mention made by Bāṇa were to have any sense, it should refer to a kind of departure from the common dramatic practice that Bāṇa must have known from personal experience or knowledge. And this suggests that Bhāsa was responsible for starting an innovation in the dramatic practice.

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[14] *Harṣacarita*, I : सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

The innovation appears to be this: The Bhāsa plays begin with the stage-direction, 'The Sūtradhāra enters after the *nāndī* is over.' Then comes the *nāndī* verse which, as we have seen, is composed by Bhāsa. This means that the Bhāsa plays reveal the practice when the *pūrvaraṅga* and the dramatist's prologue existed side by side. Accordingly, the Sūtradhāra finishes his *pūrvaraṅga* items and then begins the performance of the dramatist's prologue, beginning with the *nāndī*. The normal practice at this stage was that the Sūtradhāra performed the *pūrvaraṅga*, and *another* actor called Sthāpaka performed the dramatist's prologue. Bhāsa has named his prologues *sthāpanā* appropriately; but he seems to have entrusted their performance to the Sūtradhāra only; so that *in the Bhāsa plays the Sūtradhāra performed both the pūrvaraṅga and the dramatist's prologue as well.* This was a departure from the practice known to Bāṇa, and, therefore, he must have felt that it deserved mention.[15]

Apart from this peculiar opening, these prologues have two other distinctive features :

(ii) They do not contain the name of the play and of the author.

(iii) They also do not possess the familiar type of *prarocanā*, which we find in all the extant plays and which, in fact, is a direct appeal to the audience with a view to securing their best attention. The Sūtradhāra in the Bhāsa prologues says that he is disturbed by a noise as he is engaged in making an appeal to the audience;[16] but the actual appeal is not to be found in any of these plays!

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[15] *Ibid.*

V

A possible explanation of these peculiar features can now be given on the following lines:

While Bhāsa wrote his own prologues and started the practice of entrusting their performance to the Sūtradhara himself, the structure of the prologues suggests that some significant items of the *pūrvaranga* were continued to be performed in the older way; and that it was for this reason that Bhāsa did not repeat them in his own prologue.

The item *trika* of the *pūrvaraṅga* was intended to introduce the author and his play; and the *prarocanā* was an appeal to the audience. The absence of these details in the Bhāsa prologues probably means that they were done in the *pūrvaranga* and hence, Bhāsa did not think it necessary to mention the name of the author and of the play again, and make a fresh appeal to the audience. What was perhaps necessary was to give a few more details about the play itself, since the introduction in the *trika* would, by its nature, be of a general character. So, by means of the *nāndī* verse, sometimes, Bhāsa would suggest the names of the characters in the play; and by suggestive hints in the Sūtradhāra's speech he would indicate some event or the background of the play, and introduce the opening scene. This additional information would surely be helpful to the audience.

When, however, the *pūrvaraṅga* came to be neglected and gradually dropped altogether, it was absolutely necessary for the dramatist to introduce his own name, that of the play, and make an appeal to the audience too; that is to say, the dramatist had to construct a full prologue, not only with his own *nāndī* verse, but with the inclusion of the business of the *trika* and especially the *prarocanā* as well. Apparently it was not necessary for Bhāsa to include the *trika* and *prarocanā* items.[17]

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[16] The usual statement is :

किं नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते।

I am, therefore, inclined to infer that the Bhāsa plays belong to the *transitional period between the pūrvaraṅga phase and the phase of the double prastāvanā*. This was the period when some items of the *pūrvaraṅga* were performed and the dramatist had also started putting in his own *nāndī* verse, together with a small introduction. This, and the probable transitional period, should explain the similarity in the prologues of many of these plays. But since the names of the author and the play were given in the *pūrvaraṅga* and an appeal to the audience was also made, (in the item, *prarocanā*), the dramatist contented himself with putting in his own *nāndī* verse, and adding a few suggestive details about the play itself.

Bhāsa seems to have relied on the current dramatic practice, introducing a few innovations only of his own, some of them, like the mode of suggesting the opening scene, were adopted by the dramatists that followed; and some, like the Sūtradhāra performing the entire prologue of the dramatist, underwent minor variations in the following period. But Bhāsa must have left a mark of his own on the dramatic practice.

This is a probable explanation of the peculiar features of the Bhāsa prologues. The explanation lends additional support to the fact that Bhāsa is a very early writer. And, further, it brings the plays closer together, suggesting common authorship.

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[17] The authors of the *Nāṭyadarpāṇa* write:

अस्माभिस्तु स्वतो लोकप्रसिद्धत्वात् गन्न्यासस्य च निष्फलत्वात् (पूर्वरंग-अंगानि) ··· उपेक्षितानि । प्ररोचना तु पूर्वरङ्गाङ्गाभूतेऽपि नाट्ये प्रवृत्तौ प्रधानमंगमिति लक्ष्यते । ND., GOS, p. 155.

Although the illustration quoted of *prarocanā* is from an extant play, (*Abhinavarāghava* by Kṣīraswāmin), and not from *pūrvaraṅga*, the remark is surely indicative of a dramatic practice when, along with the dramatist's prologue, items like *prarocanā* were performed in the *pūrvaraṅga* stage. Our assumption, therefore, would not be imaginary.

1943
Allahabad

BAUDHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA PRAŚNA II—A FRESH STUDY*

By ŚRĪ C. G. KASHIKAR,

1. IN a previous article I had pointed out[1] that the present text of the *Agnyādheya* portion of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Śūtra* (*Baudh-ŚS*) does not stand in the proper order. I had also proposed therein the readjustment of the Sūtra-portion according to which the order of the various *Kaṇḍikās* of Praśna II of the Sūtra-work omitting *Kaṇḍikās* 5-7 considered as interpolatory would be as follows :—12-14; 1; 3; 4; 2; 8-11; 15-21. The following are the contents of the respective *Kaṇḍikās* :—*Kaṇḍikā* 12—Preliminary arrangements of *agnyādheya*, *Kaṇḍikās* 13, 14—The *Brahmaudana* rite. *Kaṇḍikā* 1—Pronouncement of the sacrificer's desire to set up the fires. *Kaṇḍikā* 3, 4 choosing of the officiating priests. *Kaṇḍikā* 2—Begging of the sacrificial place from the officiating priests. *Kaṇḍikās* 8-11—*Gopitṛyajña*. *Kaṇḍikās* 15-21—Churning out of the fire and setting up of the sacred fires. I propose to present here a further study of the problem.

2. In the previous article the pronouncement of the sacrificer's desire to set up the sacred fires, selection of the officiating priests and begging of the sacrificial place were said to be taking place on the day preceding the day on which the sacred fires are to be set up. As a matter of fact, the pronouncement ought to take place on the preliminary day, that is, one year before the day of setting up the sacred fires, or 12 or 6 or 3 nights before that. Because the general

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*Paper read at the 17th session of the All-India Oriental Conference Ahmedabad, 1953.

[1] cf. *The text-problem of the Baudhāyana Ādhāna Sūtra*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXIX. 1948 pp. 107-17.

ritual-practice is that the pronouncement of the desire to perform any sascrificial act has to be done at the very beginning of that act. The author of the *Subodhini* commentary on the *Baudh- ŚS*[2] says : सर्वेषां कर्मणामाधानस्य चोपव्याहरणपूर्वकत्वात् etc. The occasion for pronouncing the desire to set up the sacred fires should, therefore, be the very first day when the preliminary arrangements, namely, the erection of the sacrificial pandal and collecting the materials, are made. At the pronouncement of his desire, the sacrificer makes the priests (who are not yet formally chosen) seated to his north facing eastwards[3]. He begs of them the accomplishment of his desire by saying तन्म ऋध्यतां तन्मेसमृध्यतां तन्मे संपद्यतां कामः। To this the priests respond by saying तत्त ऋध्यतां तत्ते समृध्यतां संपद्यतां कामः। The author of *Baudhāyanīya Ādhānapaddhati* says : वरणार्हान् ऋत्विजः प्रत्याह तन्म ऋध्यतां etc.

After the pronouncement of his desire the sacrificer chooses his officiating priests and then begs of them the sacrificial place. In the present Sūtra-text the pronouncement is followed by the choosing of the sacrificial place and that again is followed by the choosing of the officiating priests. This discrepancy did not escape the notice of the ancient commentators. The author of the *Subodhinī* commentary says :

यद्यपि प्रथममभिहितं तथापि ऋत्विक्षु आध्वर्यवादिरूपविशेषनिर्णयस्य वरणानन्तरभावित्वात् वरणान्तरमेव देवयजनयाचनमवगंतव्यम्। एवं च वरणविध्यन्तनरं देवयजनयाचनं सूचयितु युक्तमित्याभिप्रायेण उक्तं भाष्ये--देवयजनयाचनमुत्तरोग्रन्थ इति।

This necessitates a slight modification in the order of the *Kaṇḍikās* proposed previously, namely, that *Kaṇḍikās* 13 and 14 should be taken up after *Kaṇḍikā* 2. Thus the order of the various *Kaṇḍikās* would be :—*Baudh-ŚS II.* 12, 1, 3-4,- 2, 13-14, 8-11, 15-21.

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[2] 2.1.

[3] The *Subodhinī* says : आत्मन उत्तरतः प्राङ्मुखान् ऋत्विज उपवेश्य उपव्याहरणम्।

3. There is evidence to show that *Baudh-ŚS II* 1-11 probably did not form part of the original Sūtra-text; these *Kaṇḍkas* might have been added later on. This addition, which is of threefold or fourfold character, might not necessarily have been made at different periods. Contrary to the expectation, this addition was made to the beginning rather than to the ending portion. The portion of *gopitṛyajña* (*Baudh-ŚS II* 8-11) was put before *Baudh-ŚŚ* II 12 with which the *Ādhāna Sūtra* really commenced. The *Karmānta*-like portions (*Baudh-ŚS* II. 6-7) were, for some reason or the other, put before *Baudh-ŚS II.* 8. The formulas called *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* or *Simhānuvāka*[4] which are to be recited by the sacrificer for self-purification prior to the *gopitṛyajña*, were placed before *Baudh-ŚS* II. 6 and lastly the four *Kaṇḍikās* dealing with the pronouncement of desire (to set up the fires), the choosing of the sacrificial place and the choosing of the officiating priests were placed before *Baudh-ŚS* II. 5. A comparison of *Baudh-ŚS* with the *Bhāradvāja* and the *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtras* shows that the opening rites of *Agnyādheya* as given in these Sūtra texts practically agree with *Baudh-ŚS II.*12. Those Sūtra-texts contain nothing which is parallel to *Baudh-ŚS* II. 1-11. The main reason pointing to the supplementary character of *Baudh-ŚS*. II. 1-11 is that the Dvaidha Sūtra, which goes parallel to the original Sūtra-text and which was the first to follow the same, does not take its cognisance. There is no Sūtra in the Dvaidha, which, discusses the ritual given in that portion. It can hardly be said that the Dvaidha did not refer to it because there was nothing to add to it or discuss about it.

4. Prof. Caland has already discussed the problem of the comparative chronology of the *Baudh-ŚS*. He has pointed out that thereis not much difference of time among

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[4] *Baudh ŚS* II. 5

[5] *Baudh ŚS* II.1-4.

[6] cf. *Das Rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Lepzig, 1903.

F. 7

the various parts of Baudhāyana's Sūtras; however, the original *Śrauta-Sūtra*, the Dvaidha, the Karmānta and the *Gṛhya-Sūtra* were composed successively. According to this view, the original *Śrauta-Sūtra* was composed no doubt before all the other portions. But *Baudh-ŚS* II 1-11 did not probably form part of the same. It is quite possible, as suggested by Caland, that the various chapters of this Śrauta work remained without enumeration for a long time. It is, therefore, not improbable that *gopitṛyajña-sūtra*[7], even though composed perhaps contemporarily, remained outside the fold of the original Sūtra-text[8]. The *gopitṛyajña* is not found in the Taittirīya recension to which the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* belongs. It is also not found in any other Sūtra-text. The other Śrauta Sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya recension have not given this rite. A reference to the killing of a cow is however, found in them in a different context, namely, in the ritual pertaining to the sacrifice for Agni to be performed after the setting up of the sacred fires. The *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*[9] mentions the killing of a cow won in the game of dice-arranged in connection with the sacrifice for Agni, and distributing her flesh among the playmates. The *Kāṭhaka-Śrauta-Sūtra* is unfortunately lost. It appears that the *Gopitṛyajña*, which might have been introduced by some Vedic clan, was also adopted by the followers of the Baudhayana school probably due to close cultural contact and was, therefore, admitted as an obligatory rite in the same. *Gopitṛyajña* is not in disagreement with the spirit of general ritual practice of the Vedic period.

5. The text of *Baudh-ŚS* II 5-7 has already been discussed[10] and the interpolatory character of the same has

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[7] *Baudh*-ŚS II.8-11.

[8] It is worth while noting that the original Sūtra-portion of *Baudh* ŚS.II. 15 contains a few Sūtras which, even though out of place, discuss about the suitability of killing a cow in the *gopitṛyajña*.

[9] 8, 7. गां घ्नन्ति तां विदीव्यन्ते तां सभासद्भ्य उपहरन्ति ।

[10] *ABORI*, XXIX pp. 111-112.

been brought out. Out of that, *Baudh-ŚS* II 6-7 bears the character of the Karmānta Sūtra and gives additional information about the time for setting up the sacred fires, the collection of materials, the procuring of the Brahmaudanika fire, the ancillary sacrifices and the Dakṣiṇā; in short it discusses many things pertaining to the entire *Agnyādheya* ritual. It cannot be said to have been a regular part of the Karmānta Sūtra, since it does not fit in with the order of the same. Hence this part may be said to have been composed later than the Karmānta Sūtra itself and, for some reason, placed before the portion of *gopitṛyajña*.

6. As for *Baudh-ŚS* II. 1-4, it cannot be decided whether these four *kaṇḍikās* might have been added at one stage or at two different stages. The fact that the *kaṇḍikā* relating to the begging of the sacrificial place precedes the *Kaṇḍikās* relating to the choosing of the officiating priests would, of course, go in favour of the latter possibility. An important point in favour of supposing the later addition of *Baudh-ŚS* II 1-4 is that that portion does not fit in with the remaining portions of the Sūtra-text. According to that portion, the sacrificer is required to pronounce his desire to set up the sacred fires, and so on, which presumes that the sacrificer has already taken his bath and has performed other morning rites. This, however, does not concur with the order of the ritual given in *Baudh-ŚS*. II. 12 according to which the sacrificer is required to fix up the places for the sacred fires in his fire-chamber, sprinkle them with water, get himself shaved, (bathe), wear new garments and partake of the food.

To sum up : The order of the various *kaṇḍikās* in Praśna II of *Baudh-ŚS* from the ritual point of view should be as follows : *ŚS* II. 12, 1, 3-4, 2, 13-14, 8-11, 15-21. There is moreover, evidence to show that *Baudh-ŚS* II. L-11 did not form part of the original Sūtra and was added later on,

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Allahabad.

A MEMOIR OF F. W. THOMAS

By Māhāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. K. Acharya

Professor Dr. F. W. Thomas died in peaceful sleep in April 1956 in a hospital. Mrs. E. G. Thomas, his devoted wife and life companion, wrote—"My husband F. W. Thomas had a short illness but I knew he was fading—his wheel of life had turned down last year (1955) before he went to Rome. His hearing was going and this year (1956) he became stone deaf and he had other troubles in March and April. He was working at an Index in April. He died in his sleep at 7 p.m. in hospital. I tried to keep him here at home but it was not to be. He was taken to hospital on Friday and died on Sunday. He was cremated at the Oxford crematorium."

It may be assumed that his earthly remains were 'cremated', and not intermed as is the usual custom, at his express wish. The life expired at sunset at 7 p.m. in April. His last journey to Rome, the holy *Tīrtha* of the Christians, was purposely undertaken at the age of 88 when "his wheel of life had turned down." Since his return from this pilgrimage he became detached, like a Hindu Ṛṣi, to his home and hearth but struggled to finish "an Index" in April when he died. He named his only son as 'Ren' which means in Latin twice-born (dvija); he is now an expert "consultant Ear, Nose and Throat in York and has four children." His only other descendant is named "Hellene" a general name for Greeks; she has married Professor E. K. Waterlzure and has two girls. Thus Professor Thomas combined in him the three leading Āryan cultures—Sanskrit, Latin and Greek.

Mrs. Thomas writes, "My husband's last work is about ancient Folk-Lore of India and is being published by Hartmann of Berlin. There is also an unpublished book on the Zan Zune language. Miss Thompson (India Office Library) and Professor Kahle are dealing with them. .. there is his vast library. . . Oxford may have the oriental books they have chosen, Heffer of Cambridge the others." Indian culture was uppermost in his thought. His versatile genius was enriched by his intimacy with Latin and Greek civilization. Oxford and Cambridge have equally shared his gifts. But he was attached to India perhaps owing to his origin from some family of Ṛṣi (Seer) in his previous birth.

On February 2, 1953 he wrote (from his home, Limen, Bodicote, near Oxford) "In publishing '900 double crown' pages of 'Glories of India', of which I have seen a prospectus, you have certainly made a fitting use of your retired leisure and have served the Indian people with the same devotion and talents which you had been applying to the University. The ancient civilization of India is not, however, only 'glories of India', though that indeed it is, but in my view a continuation, in some respects uniquely valuable, to the deepening, rationalizing and harmonizing of mind and conduct in humanity at large : it calls not merely for commemoration but also for continuing study and realization". Despite failing health and heavy correspondence he read the book thoroughly and wrote to me on August 16, 1953—"I have had another spell of reading your book, which by the mass of its detailed matter attests a really heroic labour on your part and demands a strong intellectual digestion on the part of the reader. Although my highest regard is for the profound ideas and basic truths originated by India in most spheres of thought, I can understand that for Indians themselves the vast and multifarious array of their traditional culture,. .... . its ground-work of their lives, should be the most imposing and inspiring object of contemplation. Its momentum may carry it substantially unimpaired through our modern vicissitudes and your book may often supply arguments in appreciation of its worth."

Professor Thomas seems to have been the admirer of our family life of sacraments and sacrifices also. On hearing of the Upanayana (initiation), and marriage ceremonies of my only daughter and two sons he wrote (on January 20, 1952)—"with daughter also married and two sons now provided with careers you are manifestly *Puṇya bhāgin*." This Hindu ideal of life seems to have been practised by both my Professor and Mrs. Thomas. Their son Ren and daughter Hellene were brought up and married as any Hindu parents would do. And Professor Thomas must have felt himself Puṇyabhāgin by performing the parental duties satisfactorily.

Professor Uhlenbeck and his wife of Leiden, Holland, imbibed Hindu mode of living in a more orthodox manner. This couple used to pray in Sanskrit, the former reciting an appropriate Vedic line and the latter a classical one, before meal, the first morsel of which must be boiled rice (anna). Professor and Mrs. Thomas did not perhaps follow this practice. But they also practised hospitality as one of the five daily duties of a house-holder. Innumerable Indian and non-Indian Indologists used to visit him during a period of 50 years when he worked as the Librarian of the India Office in London. He never neglected to entertain them to some meal at his home which was always far away from the crowded city and situated like a hermitage in quiet surroundings. He wrote to me: "Neither my wife nor I forget old friends. We both vividly remember your first visit to our bungalow in Surrey, and your stay in London (in 1933) along with your dear wife; and my own thoughts go back also to many occasions during your student time in London (1914—18), not forgetting Leiden (1917-18) and especially to happy days as guest in your fine and truly

Indian mansion in Allahabad with the comely and lively young brood'.

Much like a lost child in a storm I was presented dramatically to Professor F. W. Thomas on October 7, 1914, two months after the World War I was started, by Sir Thomas Arnold who was then the Adviser for Indian students to the Secretary of State for India, Austin Chamberlain. Dr. Arnold was then in charge of the Indian students section of the India Office. Equally dramatic was my embarkation from Bombay on September 12. In appreciation of my unusually good result of M. A. Examination in 1913 I was selected as Principal of the Riṣikula College at Hardwar, of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji was the President of the Managing Committee. Within six months of my appointment at Hardwar the Government of India State scholarship for the advanced study of Sanskrit abroad on scientific lines was awarded to me. I left the Principalship in July although I was not certain if I could cross the prohibited sea especially during the life time of my octogenarian grandfather (Lakshmi Charan Vidyalankara). Before reaching home the sad news of his death reached me. But the World War I broke out on August 7, 1914 and the Secretary of State for India advised the Indian Government not to send students abroad until the passage could be made secure as several passenger steamers had already been torpedoed. We, however, reached London safely. But Sir Thomas Arnold got upset at the arrival, especially of language students including myself. I had been intended to study under Professor Hultz at Gottingen, Germany, against whom the United Kingdom had declared War. Thus Dr. Arnold got upset and took me to Dr. Thomas at the India Office Library for consultation about my study.

At that time Dr. Thomas was a part-time lecturer of Philology and Dr. L. D. Barnett of British Museum a part-time Professor of Sanskrit at the University of London where I was admitted as an internal student and permitted to proceed direct to the D.Litt course under the supervision of Dr. Barnett and also to study philology under Dr. Thomas. Additional grants were made for the study of Latin, Greek, French and German. Troubles arose in selecting a suitable subject of research for D.Litt. thesis. E. B. Havell, the great scholar of Indian arts suggested the exploration of *Mānasāra-śilpaśāstra*. Dr. Thomas undertook to collect through the good office of the Secretary of State for India all the Mss. known to exist in India, and European libraries and institutions. Thus I was provided with eleven fragmentary and badly preserved Mss., on one of which referring to first dozen chapters out of the total of seventy chapters the Madras Judge Ramraj wrote his Essay on Southern temples in 1834. The Mss. were written in five different scripts in a language rightly castigated by Dr. Buhler and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as "barbarous Sanskrit". Sir Ganganatha Jha, like Buhler and Bhandarkar, had to give up the attempt in disgust to make out any sense. After struggling for two years I was about to give up the efforts when the authorities of the London university suggested that I should "make a full dictionary of all architectural terms used in the *Mānasāra*, with explanations in English and illustrative quotations from cognate literature where available for the purpose." This 'cognate literature' comprised the entire vedic and post-vedic Sanskrit literature, the Pali canonical books of the Buddhist and the Prakrit literature of the Jainas. The vast field of the śilpaśāstra and other technical literature had to be ransacked. And the entire Purāṇas of north and Āgamas of the south had to be searched line by line. Still it frustrated proper elucidation of architectural terms which swelled to some three thousand by new additions from these sources.

At this stage the condition of the war did not permit uninterrupted work in the India office library on the top floor of the Whitehall wherefrom at the sound of alarm bell for air raids all had to run for shelter. In consultation with Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology, Professor Thomas had already fixed up an appointment for me at Madras. And he suggested that I could more easily complete a Thesis on Philology dealing with the indiscriminate use of Pañcamī and Ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktis (suffix) in epics and classical Sanskrit and return to India.

But the desirability of completing the research on the *Mānasāra* was more tempting. And the Secretary of State for India readily accepted the suggestion of his Adviser (Sir Thomas Arnold who himself was a great scholar of Arabic and sometime Principal of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh) to extend my scholarship and send me to Leyden University and enable me to work under the supervision of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who was, in Arnold's time in India, the Director-General of Archaeology. As a great Statesman Mr. Austin Chamberlain further wanted to get the doors of Dutch universities opened to Indian students because such students could no longer be sent to German Universities. A doctor's degree at a Dutch University entitled the recipient for their home and Colonial Civil Service like Indian I. C. S. Thus Chamberlain wanted to send a student and get this double function of a University altered. I could be awarded their doctor's degree by a Royal Warrant. Now they have changed their old regulations.

At Leyden I completed the study of the remaining colossal archaeological material by going through some 50,000 pages of epigraphical records. This source made the literary description of the *Mānasāra*, Āgamas, Purāṇas and other literature perfectly clear to me because the discovery of an inscription on a monument or a part thereof makes its identification beyond any doubt. Thus, for instance, Professor Rapson of the Cambridge University and Professor Macdonell of Oxford who, along with Dr. Barnett, were the examiners of my thesis for D.Lit., enthusiastically accepted the architectural meaning of 'janman' (birth) as the 'plinth' (the first part of a wall). The Dutch scholars are traditional lovers of archaeology. They gave the first welcome to a summary of the *Mānasāra* which they accepted for my Ph.D. degree, which later was enlarged and developed into Vol. II of the *Mānasāra* series. Volume I of the series—*A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, was accepted by the London University for my D.Lit. degree.

On my return to London from Holland Professor Thomas informed me that the Dutch had officially informed the Secretary of State for India that on the strength of a Royal Warrant I had been awarded their Doctorate which entitled a Dutch graduate to join their Colonial Civil Service. Thus my name was included in the list of I. C. S. officers to be nominated by Secretary of State without any further competative examination. Sir Edward Lutyens, the Royal Architect, who designed the Metropolitan City of New Delhi had asked the Secretary of State to send me to him for consultation regarding the Memorial under design to Indian soldiers who died at Alsise—Lorraine (between France and Germany). Another curious incident occurred. I was confused with the Mathematical prodigy Ramanujam who was brought at that time from a clerical post at the Madras Port Commissioner Office to Cambridge. At that time also Bhupendranath Basu, the great agitating politician came as the Indian Member of the Council of Secretary of State. Curiously he demanded my appointment to the newly started school of oriental studies in London. When I declined the offer on £800/- as initial salary per annum he became cross with me and deplored my homesickness. Similarly I disappointed Mr. N. C. Sen assistant Adviser and colleague of Sir Thomas Arnold when I preferred I.E.S. to I.C.S. From a Civil Service list Dr. Arnold pointed out that Dr. Ganganatha Jha was then drawing the salary of Rs. 400 p.m. after 14 years service in P.E.S. I agitated for equal emoluments and status for those few Indian Officers who were then officiating on two-thirds salary of the regular I. E. S. Europeans. My point of view impressed the authorities of the India Office and that invidious distinction was removed from 1920 when a number of Indians were directly recruited and some including Dr. Jha were promoted from P.E.S. to I.E.S.

But my over-enthusiasm to finish the *Mānasāra* research misguided me and I suffered from miseries and anguish for nearly two years after my return from London. On my way to join the post directly under the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, I made an error of not joining as Inspector of schools of the Presidency Division of Bengal, which post so long reserved for European I.E.S. only was offered to me by the D.P.I. (Mr. Hornell). Similar errors of judgment I committed in quitting the Madras appointment which I was delibrately provoked to do by an Indian (Madrasi) Secretary to the Madras Governor. For similar impatience and lack of experience, I suffered by declining to accept the offer of a post at Dacca University on Rs. 1200—1800 made by Dr. P. J. Hastague the first Vice-Chancellar, and another offer made by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee at the Calcutta University. I also hurriedly resigned the post at Patna College at the ticklish behaviour of the principal Coldwell. Ultimately Dr. Thomas came to my rescue. Sir Henry Sharp introduced me at Simla to Sir Claud de la Fosse and got me posted at Muir Central College through the personal selection of Sir Harcourt Butler, the then Governor of U. P. Sir Claude made immediate arrangement for the printing of Vol. I and II of the Mānasāra Series, at Goverment Press at Allahabad, the publication of which, through the Oxford University Press, had already been arranged by Professor Thomas.

Thus Dr. Thomas wrote on January 20, 1952,—"Of course, I am interested to know your *Mānasāra* Monument is now piled still higher by the publication of vols VI and VII." Like all others Dr. Thomas seemed to have suffered from the want and privations of the World War II especially when it was coming to an end. On January 22 and August 26, 1945 he wrote—"We have been living in strange times. I, for one, have been very hard-worked and without any spare energy." Again he referred to the troubles—"As you will realize, we have been living in stirring times, and even normally during these war years one's energies have been rather exhaustingly preoccupied. The accomplishment of every project is beset with *vighnas* (obstacles), from lack of domestic help to dilatory post, scarcity of paper and printers, and inaccessibility of library treasures." In 1945 I retired from I.E.S. on attaining the age of 55 years. In the United Kingdom the age of professorial retirement was 65 years. It was suggested that I might go to the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Commenting on this suggestion Dr. Thomas wrote to me (22.1.45)—"Of course, I, as a past occupant of the chair. . . ., should have been pleased if the opportunity of appointing an Indian had been seized." But he warned me by saying that "to leave your fine house and come to England seems adventurous these days. A removal to this country would give us the real satisfaction of meeting again." He added—"your reappointment in the Allahabad University gave me genuine pleasure" (May 24, 1946). . . We should both be happy to see your wife and yourself again in this country and to welcome you in this *Āśrama* at Limen, Bodicote, North Banbury" where he was living the real *vāṇaprastha* life with his wife as the only companian, the son and the daughter having been already married and settled.

By 1948 my continuous work on the *Mānasāra* since 1914 came to an end. Volumes III (Text of the *Mānasāra*), IV (translation) and V (Illustrations) were published in 1934 exactly after 100 years after the publication of Ram-Raza's Essay on the *Mānasāra* published in 1834; and Vol. VI (Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad) and Vol. VII (An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture) came out in 1946 but published formally in 1948. Some learned colleague designated as Vol. VIII of the Mānasāra series the *Swastika Bhavana* constructed for a demonstration of the rules and regulations of the Mānasāra architecture. In his letters (January 22 and August 26, 1945, and May 24, 1946) Professor Thomas bitterly referred to an unusual and peculiar incident which was about to upset the plan of the Secretary of State for India made at international level when I was sent to Holland in the thick of World War I in 1917. He wrote (January 22, 1945)—"I am pleased to know that your *Mānasāra* work is still bearing abundant new fruit. It must also have been some satisfaction to you to see Vogel's article, in which he made some amends for his action at the time when you took your Degree (at the Leyden University). The article was published (in *Indian Art and Letters* (India Society). I have traced Professor Vogel's commendatory article on your *Mānasāra* : it is printed in *Octa orientalia* (1935, Vol. XIV, pp. 224-230).

He referred to this matter again (on May 24, 1946) —"I have always regretted that the incessant demands upon my energies prevented my writing in '*Indian Art and Letters*' concerning your *Mānasāra*. But any more commendation of your original and important publication became many years ago superfluous." Brief extracts from some leading Reviews may disclose what Professor Thomas meant to say. He seems to have been impressed, like lovers of Indology all over the world, by views and Reviews of Tagore and especially of Professor Keith and Sir Ganganatha Jha.

When volumes VI and VII of the *Mānasāra* came out in 1948, Professor Thomas as the originator of this big project saw the end of it. On July 6, 1933, he wrote to Professor Tuxen of Oslo (Scandinavia)—"you may have seen his dictionary of Hindu Architecture. He has now completed his very extensive work on the same subject including an edition and translation of the Mānasāra and a very interesting volume of Plates, designed in accordance with the directions in the text." In his Presidential address to the *All India Oriental Conference* held at Trivandrum (20th December, 1937) he took fatherly delight by saying that "Acharya's heroic and monumental labour upon the *Mānasāra* has had sequelae in the publication of some new texts from Travancore."

"Of course I am interested to know," he wrote (in January 1952), "that your Mānasāra Monument is now piled still higher by the publication of vols. VI (Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad) and VII (An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture)." He was satisfied with my endeavour when he remarked (in his letter of July 13, 1938)—"Your powers of work are indeed remarkable." It is no exaggeration to say that without continuous aid and inspiration from my Guru (Dr. Thomas) this gigantic task could hardly be carried out with any success. He supplied necessary materials and facilities to work in London, Oxford and Cambridge. He protected me from evil forces in Holland, Madras and Patna. He kept me away from the temptations of accepting lucrative offers received at the moments of dire necessity at Calcutta, Dacca, Banaras, Lahore and London. He got me fixed up at Allahabad and arranged the publication of the whole *Mānasāra* Series through the Oxford University Press. The Uttar Pradesh

Government expressed appreciation of this work through the Secretary to the Governor (G. O. No. A—500—XV—2046—49, dated May 10, 1954)—"The Governor has, in appreciation of the learning and scholarship manifested in the monumental work (Mānasāra), been pleased to sanction a reward to Dr. P. K.Acharya." If it were adequate this reward should have been given to Professor F. W. Thomas. The Government of India, however, honoured us all by conferring the title of C.I.E. upon Dr. Thomas who had served as the Librarian of India office for over a quarter of a century from about 1900. He had been also honoured by most of the older universities in India and in Europe by awarding their honorary Doctorate to him.

Through his handling of Indian records and sanskrit books and manuscripts preserved in the India office Library his familiarity with and appreciation of the achievements in the wide field of our culture and civilization were unique. He overcame the genuine sentiment of Professor Maxmullar who declined the repeated invitation to visit India because the picture of the real Indian life he had drawn from his study of Sanskrit literature did no longer exist and the 'Sons and daughters of Manu' disappeared through the foreign conquests. Professor Thomas, on the other hand fulfilled his curiosity by visiting India twice at the fag end of his career. He had numerous acquaintances in India. Almost all the Indologists, Indian and non-Indian alike, were indebted to him for the invaluable materials treasured in the India office library.

In his Presidential address at Trivandrum Oriental Conference he mentioned incidentally the well-known names of scholars. "I do indeed sincerely feel that circumstances have conspired to invest me with a quasi-representative character. As a pupil of Cowell (who later was the principal of the Government Sanskrit college at Calcutta, prior to Pandit Iśwarachandra Vidyāsāgara), and a remote successor in London and Oxford of Horace Hayman Wilson, in London also of Ballantyne and others; as having worshipped at the feet of Barth, Kern and of Aufrecht, whose tradition went back to the days of Lassen and Bopp; as a junior friend of Buhler, Kielhorn, Fleet, Jacob, and Burgess and of Senart, Kuhm, Pischal, Oldenberg, Eggling, Jacobi, Rhys Davids and how many others including Sylvain, Levi, Abrilliant, enthusiastic and incredibly accomplished Savant.......I may not have personally known Max Muller and Monier Williams, Weber, Bothlingk or Roth, not to mention many another famous names of that period, yet my roots do really reach far back into the European past of our studies (of Sanskrit literature), and that in some degree I am authorized to pronounce in their name a benediction upon your work.".....

He went on : "I am charged to represent here the oldest and perhaps the youngest of the English corporations particularly concerned with Oriental studies, namely, the University of Oxford, with which may be associated its Indian Institute, and the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London;... the Royal Asiatic (Society of Great Britain and Ireland), the World Congress of Faiths, and other Institutions in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe and in America and Asia."

As mentioned elsewhere Professor Thomas was actively associated with Indian or Oriental institutes as known more widely all over the world. Coming to Indian contributions to Indology he rightly reminded us— "Indian scholarship has ever been ready to acknowledge indebtedness to such co-workers, teachers and inspirers from the west : your zeal and devotion may be an encouragement to their successors." He illustrated the point by mentioning Sir R. G. Bhandarkar whom he honoured as "Bhishma, as it were, enunciating Śāstras from his couch of spikes. I knew his generous insistence upon the contribution of European critical methods to our common studies. It was accompanied by familiarity with that old learning which, like the classical studies in Europe, not only developed the intellect, but also moulded the character and helped to form the soul. In succession came Dr. Ganganatha Jha, whose scholarly translations and studies of Sanskrit philosophical texts had enabled us to follow the intricate reasoning of that great literature."

He further elaborated the invaluable contributions of Dr. Jha by paying tributes to the memory of "Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Vidyāsāgara (truly ocean of learning), the President of the Madras Conference in 1924, that unrivalled authority on ancient Sanskrit philosophical texts, that scholarly translator of Sūtras and Bhāṣyas, the re-discoverer of the system of Prabhākara, the Editor of *Indian Thought*." He offered "heart-felt congratulations upon the completion of his translation of the *Śahara-Bhāṣya*, filling more than 2000 closely printed pages in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, a work of enormous difficulty and importance. If the announcement, in the latest preface, that this great achievement completes Dr. Jha's proposed life-task is to be accepted as difinite, though we hope that may not be the case, we must at any rate agree that the annals of pure Sanskrit scholarship record no more monumental contribution than is constituted by the work of Dr. Ganganatha Jha." Professor Thomas also referred to the tributes of Colonel Jacob "who greeted with enthusiasm the earlier part of Dr. Jha's writings." The tributes paid to Dr. Jha "in the form of a large commemoration volume replete with notable essays" is also mentioned "as a sort of winding up statement."

After the conference at Trivandrum (in December 1937) Professor Thomas toured all over the country for more than six months. On July 13, 1938 he wrote to me from his steamer S.S. Vita in the Persian Gulf—"your letter of

June 8 reached me a few days ago in Bombay. I am now four days out from Karachi on my way home, expecting to be in Basra to-morrow and in England about the fourth week of July. I left Nepal on May 22, and since then I have visited Darjeeling, and Burma, and then on my return Mysore, Poona, Bombay, Agra, Mahenjodaro and Karachi. In Agra and the last two it was very warm. I started on this voyage rather fatigued; but now the rest and good breeze have made me fresh again." After an enquiry about my children and wife, he referred to Dr. Jha again. "If you see Dr. Ganganatha Jha will you kindly mention that the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference is going to take action in regard to the proposed Indian Academy. They will receive communication in due course." He spent a couple of months in Calcutta and a few days at Allahabad during this visit to India.

Professor Thomas was enthusiastic, since 1914 when I came to know him, to establish the Indian Academy. Dr. Jha never discussed this matter with us. On the other hand he was rightly in despair about the future of Sanskrit studies. He often used to say that "only misguided youths took up Sanskrit for study and a succesful career." He was, however, honoured with a knighthood in his death-bed. And it is happy to remember after his demise that this *Ganganatha Jha Research Institnte* was established and it is coming out splendidly at the untiring efforts of his beloved pupil Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umesha Mishra, the able Secretary of this Memorial.

After referring to the contributions of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Sir Ganganatha Jha, Professor Thomas in the Presidential address referred to "Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, the very prolific investigator of old Iranian literature and culture; the genial veteran Haraprasad Śāstri who out of his own experience could discourse so shrewdly and wisely upon many departments of Indian studies, a very fountain of unpremeditated and original instruction; Hiralal with his inexhaustive knowledge of Indian archaeology; Kashi Prasad Jayaswal and Dewan Bahadur Krishna Swamy Aiyangar—all maintaining a high standard of sound scholarship of originality and method in research, of insight into the problems calling for solution and of judgment in valuing results."

Professor Thomas also referred to the famous series of publications brought out by the Governments of the centre and provinces such as the Census Reports, Gazetteers, the Linguistic and Archaeological Surveys; Sir John Marshall's three volumes of Indus valley civilization, Indian Antiquities, the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Epigraphia Moslemica, Carnatica, Burmanica; Mysore and Travancore Archaeological Series, not excluding Greater India, Epigraphia Zeylanica and Inscriptions du Cambodge. "During the years spent in the Library of the India office I could not help being aware of a large output of pamplets, in verse or prose, of a local character relating mostly to shrines. . . . conceiving that in old India, as in medieval England and Europe, topography was not primarily a matter of towers and villages, but of the great religious establishments about which they clustered."

In the Presidential address of the classical Sanskrit Section Dr. Thomas disclosed an astonishing glimpse of his extraordinary familiarity with the oceanic store of the Vedic and the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature. He rightly asserted—"Hitherto the Vedic Sanskrit has been little studied from the aesthetic point of view. The scholars have been too intensely occupied with the questions of etymology, literal meaning and grammar to have leisure for the appreciation of the form and content as literature. . . . we may sum up by saying that the Vedic literature, though mainly professional, is not the work of persons whose profession was literature. Literary art appears in it as a by-product in the attainment of another object or as a spontaneous intrusion of human feeling. The (post-Vedic) Sanskrit literature, on the other hand, may be said to be wholly under the dominion of conceptions of art and method. . . . But, when we say that the Sanskrit literature is dominated by artistic conceptions, we mean much more than that it is so largely in verse. It is governed by formal ideas in regard to exposition. . . . with this slight sketch we may connect a few reflections upon what the Sanskrit has accomplished and what it may still hope to achieve."

No body is more qualified than Professor F. W. Thomas to evaluate what Sanskrit has accomplished, "namely, that disciplining of Indian society and mentality which followed the philosophical anarchy of the time of Buddha and accompanied the growth of extensive empires. . . Outside the limits of Aryan India this would be of special importance. For to the new people in Further ("Greater") India and elsewhere who became subject to Indian influence it was necessary to import some definite language and system of things; and for this purpose Panini and Manu were instruments ready to hand." The whole regions of Sirindia and Insulindia bear witness to this fact. "To central Asia Indian influence came in a Prakrit Buddhist form; but the documents show numerous effects of Sanskrit influence and the florid epistolary style is plainly a product of the chancelleries of the Hindu States. In Burma, Siam, Indo-china (Malay, Cambodia etc.), Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc.) and Ceylon, the early infusion of Aryanism penetrated despite Buddhist and Jain propaganda which served in the end for the extension of the Brahmanic system.' Regarding what Sanskrit may still hope to achieve, Profesor Thomas did never hesitate to make a prophetic prediction. "The Sanskrit, far from manifesting any exhaustion, has acquired through the discoveries of modern times an immensely increased importance. . . with the awakening of self-consciousness of Buddhism and the revival of scholarship in the several communities the Sanskrit literature of Buddhism is likely to attract a growing interest in the whole of eastern Asia".

In India "the principle is on the way to general acknowledgement that for higher education on the humanistic side Sanskrit is in India an imperative requirement. It would indeed be preposterous, if those Indians whose interest is turned to matters social, literary and historical were without access to that knowledge which alone can enable them to realize the situation in which they find themselves. With the aid of English it is, no doubt, possible in large centres to lead an entirely modern and international life of political and social interests and amusements. But such a life, divorced from the total milieu and dependent upon stimulus from abroad, is without roots in its own soil and related to its surroundings rather by irritation than by sympathy. We must look forward beyond the period of overwhelming influx from Europe to a period of equilibrium when for further progress India will depend at least as much upon her own powers of originations as upon importation from abroad. The English language, so widely spread over the earth, will remain, no doubt, its international medium."

"Will it require another common language for its internal needs, and if so, has the Sanskrit still a chance?" He answered the question himself. "There might be no such common medium, or there might be a duality or plurality of such with local distribution; in that case the problem is not solved, but is postponed to a later stage. One of the living vernaculars might take over the function; and this would have the undoubted advantage that the modern vernaculars have shown no reluctance to adopt from abroad such vocables as may be convenient for modern life. But in view of the great linguistic divisions of the country, *if it is to be one country*, it may be worth while, at the risk of appearing to flog a dead horse, to ask whether the Sanskrit , perhaps in a further simplified form, may not again rise to the occasion."

The power of Sanskrit to express the modern ideas is illustrated—"that Sanskrit can be adapted to the expression of all modern contents was demonstrated a century ago by the pioneer experiments of Dr. Ballantyne and his colleagues in Banaras. Lately, I have enjoyed a re-perusal of a little work in Sanskrit by a distinguished Ācārya, giving an account of his pilgrimage to the Badarikāśrama. The author had no difficulty in communicating through the Sanskrit, with no great apparatus of syntax, all the incidents of the journey by rail, etc., and all features of the places visited which he desired to record."

In modernizing old Sanskrit Professor Thomas suggested that "the Sanskrit should be allowed the freedom of appropriating Rūḍhi (basic) terms which have established themselves in the actual vernaculars or even of borrowing them direct from foreign speech, as it often necessarily does in the case of titles and proper names." Similarly the difficulty of pronunciation of Sanskrit words, differing widely in different parts of India, may be overcome by asking different peoples "to surrender any deviations from the correct old pronunciation of Sanskrit established upon the unshakable authority of the early works on phonetics."

Professor Thomas was convinced, a decade before Indian independence came into being, that by nothing but the medium of Sanskrit the essential unity of India can be retained. "One advantage of Sanskrit in comparison with any vernacular is that in very many cases it is already known in the vernaculars, both Aryan and Dravidian as the single original form of competing vernacular derivatives. The necessary amount of syntax need not be greater in the case of (simplified) Sanskrit than of a vernacular."

Another and greater advantage of Sanskrit being adopted as the lingua Indica would be that "outside of India Sanskrit would carry with it a convenience by facilitating a solidarity with those countries whose religious literature has a Sanskrit basis, an area which, as we have seen, comprises a great part of Central and Eastern Asia."

Professor Thomas concluded his prediction by giving a prophetic warning. "I, therefore, do not feel that the idea of Sanskrit resuming its place as a common literary medium for India is a hopelessly lost cause, since the alternatives are either that there should be no such medium other than the English which, it should be remembered, is in regard to many necessary Indian notions itself without any resource, or the dominance, despite unavoidable reluctances, of some particular vernacular" (like Hindi).

The future is unpredictable. But the present policy and programme of independent India make it impossible for Sanskrit to become the all-India medium or Lingua Indica. Even the very existence of Sanskrit as a subject of study in schools and colleges, and in Pāṭhaśālās and Sanskrit Universities, may not servive after a few generations. Only the "misguided youths would take up Sanskrit for regular study" as predicted, in great despair, by Sir Ganganatha Jha. Like the efforts of Kemal Pasha to modernise Turkey our present policy is to push on with the industrialization through intensive cultivation of science and technology. The study of Sanskrit does not provide a career for young men and women of the country.

It is true that the Government have set up, not only one academy of Professor Thomas's dream but three Akadami adopting the Arabic spelling of the word and altering his aim and object. The *Sahitya Akadamy* has been awarding prizes for works in all regional languages. The *Sangit-Nāṭaka Akadami* has been similarly encouraging singing, dancing, dramatizing, filming, by offering titles. And the *Lalita-kalā* (fine arts) *Akadami* has been pushing the artists to come out with their various inner urges. Even the dying Pandits in their death bed may expect big life-long pension if they happen to be the favourites of the politicians and party-leaders. A *Sanskrit Commission* was also set up although their recommendations are not likely to be implemented by making Sanskrit (or some other classic) compulsory for school-going boys and girls. The study of Sanskrit has been uprooted by making the study of the National language (Hindi), the regional mother tongue, and the English compulsory up to the Intermediate stage. In addition to these three languages, only the misguided pupils would take up Sanskrit and deprive themselves of the opportunity of an acquaintance with history, geography or mathematics and one or more science subjects which will be more helpful for employment and earning one's livelihood. The priest-craft is dying out. The Varṇāśrama is derided. An irritating term "Casteism" has become very popular in the gaping mouth of the self-seeking legislators. The members of the Brāhma, the Ārya and other advanced Samājists have already adopted the vernacular forms for the performance of marriage, death and one or two more sacraments which are still observed as a matter of habit, not of faith and belief. The sanctity of the Deva-bhāṣā, Sanskrit, is no longer acknowledged.

Jha Research Institute
1943
Allahabad.

PREFACE

By Śrī H. L. Sharma

Not unwittingly perhaps, the authors of Alaṁkāra Literature in India evince an intimate knowledge of facts about beauty-consciousness. The facts are the elusive moments of beauty-thrill, the fleeting panorama of images and those delightful streams of creative bliss, which we significantly call Rasa. They require culling them and stringing them together, and need an evaluation and interpretation against a philosophical background. This is to introduce a mental ordering and reduce chaos to the cosmos of Laws. What we thus get is the Aesthetic Philosophy of India. The present thesis is an essay to reduce our artistic sensibility to system and law.

The Vedas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* do not contain any express theory of Beauty. Yet for the completeness of impression, we have suggested some theories regarding their art-form. A self-conscious Aesthetics begins with Bharata who serves as a tower of illumination for centuries to come. He supplies the basic concepts and the main spokes of the wheel on which the later superstructure of Art-Philosophy has been raised. I have indicated the psycho-aesthetic foundations of his entire thought-scheme and pointed out the nuclear elements in art-experience.

From a psycho-aesthetic stand point, the schools of Alaṁkāra, Rīti and Guna reveal the Principles of Form and Decoration underlying the graphic as well as musical arts. A closer study of Alaṅkāra further indicates the modus operandi of creative genius even outside the sphere of Literary Art.

It is Ānandavardhana who deepens the outlook into the Metaphysics of Beauty and unveils an inveterate habitus and idiom of aesthetic consciousness by his discovery of Dhwani. His is a brilliant survey of mind's beauty-experience, a close charting and mapping of the unfathomable and unseen recesses of the human soul and a distinct articulation of flashing moments of beauty-thrill. He goes behind experience to the psycho-metaphysical depths and defines such concepts as Camatkāra, Rasa, Ānanda etc. in precise, intelligible language. The Thesis in hand formulates the metaphysic of Beauty and traces its developments through Mahima, Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha.

The last in the line of great thinkers is Jagannātha. While he endorses the Metaphysical stand-point of his predecessors, he flashes at times the meta-psychologic depths in his definition of basic notions. Some genial thinkers of Bhakti School also develop the viewpoint of Subliminal Psychology in defining Rasa etc. in terms of soul-liquification (druti), illumination (Vikāsa) and expansion (Vistāra). Besides, I have also set forth the emotional Principles of Harmony and the formal Principles of Beauty as they come to us from Rūpa Goswāmi. The nature of colour-harmony and Rhythm has also been indicated. At the end I have set forth the great Law of Organic Articulation in Art and Symbolism governing all forms in our hieratic architecture and sculpture. The approach is from the side of Literature and if our conclusions go out to apply to other forms of Art, they are confirmed by consilience.

I have not depended on the letter of the text which are only corroborative, though the conclusions are founded in them. The point of view throughout is critical. The unity of purpose which thus results has enabled a coherent system of thought to be built up. The comparison is also many-sided-horizontally ; I have compared our theories with parallel thought-systems in the West without confusing them with one another. Our view of Beauty as value has been checked up with other forms of value, so that the axiological approach is not lost sight of. The use of thought in the West has been made both to supply a background of scientific Aesthetics so that our own may stand out in bold relief and to expound some hazy notions in modern terminology. I have taken all care to keep both the lines of development separate and metaculously avoided reading anything Western in our texts.

My efforts throughout have been directed to forming a pyramid of Indian Aesthetics, with a ground plan supplied by Bharata, developing many phases through the ages, thus growing in stature, volume and splendour yet pointing out to some definite conclusion. In this attempt my borrowings are not less significant. They are in the form of clear hints as to the general structure. My contribution, as I suppose it to be, is designing and assembling and giving it the shape of Philosophy.

Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
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THE CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN AESTHETICS

Historical Conspectus

1. *Vedic Contributions*

India's art-tradition goes back to the dateless past. The cave-carvings and other art-monuments of the pre-Vedic era are the rarest expressions of India's native aesthetic impulse. We omit to assess their value or formulate a theory, for that will not be very different from one already current about the Primitive Art[1].

The Vedic theory of beauty in art may be known as *Naturism*. The fountain of creative inspiration is Nature and her very breath, her colourful and sonorous harmonies are captured in the rhythmic movement of the Vedic lines. The main form of Vedic poetry is a prayer or an apostrophe. It is the total and spontaneous reaction of man to his environment. The prayer does not indulge in cynicism or escapist wailings. Life is for living fully and freely; its deepest cravings, despairs and joys lead to its fulness. There is no division or divorce between religious, moral or artistic aspects of life. The Vedic ṛk is the example of complete aspectual unity of life.

Vedic lyricism[2], therefore, sounds so distinct from later sentimentalism. In Keats, for instance, the turbulent passion to be one with Nature, and partake of her freedom and frenzy, is an echo of wearied life. Shelley's lyricism is the morose chafing at his helplessness to break the bonds which life imposes upon us. The Vedic lyricism is the complete emotional reaction of life to its inner and outer demands.

What distinguishes the artistic from the artificial is the interpenetration of theme and form. This the Vedic art achieves. Whether the theme is erotic, comic or terrible, the Vedic ṛk glows with energy and vigour. Such a quality of art may be described as *Simplicity* or *Sahaja*. Negatively it means freedom from 'technical swagger' and conventionalism. But positively Simplicity signifies directness of effect and vigour of form. Artificiality is opposed to Simplicity.

As the very model of Simplicity, Vedic poetry has its wealth of aesthetic charm in the use of metaphor and simile[3]. There is no attempt at sophistry or bashful concealment. The Vedic metaphor is not the product of the fluctuating imagination. It is born of the experience of heightened and expanded life. There is a passion-glow behind the image-picture of the metaphor, so that the image does not remain there to produce the three-dimension illusion or "chromatic effect", but to expand the being, to illumine the unseen recesses of the soul, through its charm. The total effect of metaphor is not isolated; therefore the whole thing does not seem to be a mosaic of emotionally tinged images. On the contrary, in a Sukta, there is an atmosphere burning with a creative energy, and the metaphoric image is only a lively current in the total passionate flow of harmony.

Naturism and Naturalism.

Is Vedic art naturalistic? No; for in Naturalism, the phenomenal Nature is presented to us in its logical-perceptual version. There is something of the primitive in it, though not truly primitive. In a naturalistic art, therefore, there is no lyrical vigour, glow or movement. Nature is not *transformed. In a true art of Nature, hoewver, the lyrical transformation is absolutely essential in exactly the same manner as the logical transformation is needed to produce 'Science'.* True art re-builds, refines and lyrically transforms the experience as the true Science does. In a naturalistic art, there is no such reorganization of experience. There may be slight transformation of Nature necessitated by the needs of presentation.

Lyrical transformation of Nature, in the context of Vedic art, should only mean the artist's living over again the life when it was (and is) in a complete 'rapport' with Nature. *It is rather a transformation of himself. Nature is as much lyrical, or more, as she is rational*, and does not need any adornment or idealization by imagination. Naturism does not mean the crude expression of unrefined feelings. It is the other name of Simplicity or Sahaja. The acute extroversion caused by the life's needs makes man wonder what he has made of himself. A distance is created between our present self and natural self. Naturistic art of the Vedas *shortens this distance* and restores the joyous rhythm of life.

This may lead to the charge of anthropomorphism and 'pathetic fallacy' against Naturism of the Vedas. The truth of the matter is that the Vedic art does neither invest natural phenomena with human attributes nor transform them in the light of the human feelings. It is creating *lyrical order* in Nature and tuning the human self to Nature's cosmic rhythm. 'Pathetic' attribution to the objects of Nature is an emotional make-believe, and is, therefore, morbid and artificial. The Vedic art is artistic, born as it is of the creative emotion, restless for expansion and embodiment. This lyric tendency of our nature is part and parcel of our 'ordered and ordering self.'

Aesthetic Functionalism.

Yāska's *Nirukta* and the Vyākaraṇa Philosophy yield us an art-theory which may be known as *Aesthetic Functionalism or Aesthetic Activism*. The material elements in an art-creation are not only structurally related, but also functionally interconnected. Thus a word, tone, colour, volume or line in a work of art *is what it does*. Art-joy as much as art-creation is a form of self-activity and self-activation. The meta-psychology behind it is that the *liquid intelligence* of man cannot identify itself with anything that is not itself action and movement, and further, *cannot know it unless it becomes it*.

Yāska, in common with the general stand of Mīmāṁsā and India's Grammatical Philosophy, has his own theory of language. Language, as a form of articulation, is the function of consciousness. It is dynamic and creative. Mind being a liquid, creative flow articulates itself in *verbs*. By analysis every word can be shown to follow from some verb[4]. It is from a hypostasis that the substantives have grown. Even a verb, say to cook or to walk, is not a single action. It is a mass of actions momentarily succeeding one another and condensed into one sense. Thus the word has grown out of concentration or restriction of conscious life. *A word is the condensed, articulate consciousness*.

Starting with this stand, the Grammarian states that a word has prakṛti or dhātu (root-verb), which is capable of containing and conveying vast variety of meanings. Out of them we select one for practical purposes, which is its common connotation or primary meaning. It is by *limiting* the power of the word, by virtue of which it *tends to develop* into a rich tissue of significance, that Science and practical life purchase accuracy and directness in the use of language. We should not think, as is commonly done, that our starting point is Abhidhā; thence we proceed to Lakṣaṇā and Tātparya, and that Vyañjanā is the enriched and extended meaning of Abhidhā. The truth of the matter is that the word by its inherent potency, tends to full flowering and indicates, the vast wealth of meanings. *The primary meaning is the result of condensation and restriction*.

This naturally leads to a paradoxical conclusion. Every word can, by its inner logic, signify every sense, says Patañjali. Kumārila teaches that the word contains as much meaning in it as it contains references to dhātus from which it seems to follow. Durgācārya says that out of the multisided meanings suggested by the word, we cannot choose one and reject the other. A word thus becomes the radiating centre of meanings and cluster of significant mental states. The only restricting agents are the context and the practical needs.

How then are the Vedic texts to be interpreted 2

A Vedic mantra is Kāmadhenu and has infinite meaning. It is cloud-like (पर्जन्यवत्) raining profusely. A man can discover as much out of it as his capacity to discover the references to dhātus in it. The same mantra can convey metaphysical (अध्यात्म), psychical ((अधिदेव)) and physical (अधिभूत) meanings in its contexts. In each case the meaning of the mantra produces an immediate and 'intimate sense' of reality. The ordinary meaning—the relation of sign and significance—can give us a restricted and poor sense, and cannot produce a direct and overwhelming feeling of its presence. The word must be प्रत्यक्षक्रिय i.e., the actions which it embodies must be mentally realizable. *A Word without this capacity will remain an informant of second-hand knowledge, but never will it become formant of a lively experence.* Without that, so proceeds the Vedic theory, the god (देवता), who is of the word-form (मंत्ररूप) will not be realized. Devatā is no deity external to the mantra. The essence of the mantra itself—the sense it creates—is the soul and body of the devatā. Thus alone, the worshipper of god effectively prays to him. In the ecstasy of contemplation produced by the lively experience of the mantra, the seer loses his individual identity in the being of the god himself. He worships god by becoming god. This is the Vedic form of worship in which the seer has pratyakṣa of all dharma.

The *Nirukta* is the process of turning अतिपरोक्ष and परोक्ष-वृत्ति words into प्रत्यक्षवृत्ति. In the context of Aesthetic

Theory, 'nirukta' means turning a sign into a symbol. A sign is *uni-sense*[7], while a symbol is *multi-sense*. It is, as has been well said, a *plurisign*. A word in Science is, I may add, *single-dimension*. In art it is *multi-dimension*. The word, colour, timbre or movement has a depth of significance, and is charged with vivacity which expands our own sense of being. *The language of art is the very opposite of the definite expression in Science : it must be indefinite and rich in vague and various suggestion.* The quality of art grows with greater suffusion of meanings in a word.

But to be multi-sense is to be dynamic at the same time. The art-element does not convey rigid sense, but creates and sustains movements, both centripetal and centrifugal, in the psycho-organic life of the creator and the critic. Concepts, being of the nature of static growths in the mind, find no place in art-creation or appreciation, while emotions, which are of the nature of movements in life and vague in their meaning, are so fit for it.

The main problem of artistic creation and appreciation is : How to transform a sign into an art-element? In this the artist follows the method of the *Nirukta* in his own way. In so far as he deals with the material basis of art, colour, volume or line, he finds in the objects of sight, touch, etc., something rigid and dumb. A colour in itself is अतिपरोक्ष,, and has an indistinct and single-track meaning. The artist has to wake it up with emotional energy and invest it with wide and vague suggestions. So long as a piece of sculpture remains a well-hewn stone, the art has neither been created nor enjoyed. When, however, every furrow of the face or twitch of the lips begins to voice a thousand concealed experiences of life, it becomes art the very moment.

The art-element is always प्रत्यक्षक्रिय. We must not lay too much emphasis on the material basis of art, for the work of painting, for instance, no more hangs on its colours than the stars do on the blue of the sky. The colour or line is the vehicle of multi-meaning of art, and must be suffused over and infused with passion. The colour must come to life—its vitality must be manifest (प्रत्यक्षक्रिय). It seems to be dumb and dead to our practical perception. But in creative imagination it lives, breathes and moves. It is in this way that art restores life, which the mechanical demands of practice take away.

To sum up : Judgment in aesthetic experience should take the form : This is beautiful because, and in so far as, it is dynamic and activating. An art-element is the sign—a sensuous perception—transformed into the galvanic centre of multi-meaning by the process of discovering verbs, movements in it. This process of transformation of अतिपरोक्षवृत्ति into अन्तर्लीनवृत्ति and the latter into प्रत्यक्षवृत्ति where the meaning is immediately and intimately comprehended, is the process of artistic creation and appreciation.

2. *The Krauñca Episode*

The Vedic Naturism is a distinct stage in the art-history of India. Nature in its cosmic aspect is the fountain of the Vedic poetry. It starts from the fulness of life, its joy, wonder and child-like questioning. By its power it takes man very near to the joyous source of his own being. Its main aesthetic charm is its power of communion. *In Vālmīki, the centre is shifted from Nature to man.* The theme of Vālmīki art is *human nature in conflict with the immutable order of things*. The resulting emotion is Pathos. Pathos is a creative emotion. When it finds a proper theme, the result is an overflow of harmony in some medium, which is art.

The Krauñca Episode is the key to both creative and appreciative aesthetics of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki is the creative genius, and, naturally his personality seeks medium for artistic embodiment. His quest[8] for the perfect pattern of humanity is the first expression of the poet in him. He got the theme (vastu) from Nārada. This theme needed artistic recasting in the medium of a master emotion. This did not come to him, though it was gradually taking shape in the depths of his soul, till the seer chose to have a merry dip in the Gaṅgā and a carefree[9] stroll in the jungle. There the thing happened. The Krauñca pair, forgetful of the invisible hand of fate, engaged in merry-making, till the hunter's arrow made one to wallow in the pool of his blood and the other to wail in her agony and despair. 'Blood and tear'—this is the world and its finâle. The realization of this fact with a terrific suddenness before his eyes unlocked the unconscious music of the seer's soul. *Pathos flowed into poetry.*

But this was not enough to produce the epic that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is. The theme was got from Nārada; the form of art, pathos[10], came to him on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Vālmīki was still perturbed, not seeing the true significance of each. Something in the depths of his life was agitating to be born, something tragic, true and moving. Brahmā[11] came to the Muni who fell into a trance in his presence. During that moment of self-merger, the form and theme combined into one artistic whole. Poetry ran out into a clear current of musical harmony to the wonder of the poet himself.

In general structure and essence, the Krauñca episode sums up the nature of epic art. Further, it reveals the *modus operandi* of creative genius and the laws of movement of aesthetic emotion. Art consists in close wedding—or rather welding—of theme and form. Theme is a cognitive element, sensuous material of art, event or ideal. Form is emotion. Art-creation consists in suffusion of emotion over a theme. In the *Rāmāyāṇa*, the master-emotion is pathos which sounds as the 'recurrent motif' of the entire work. A general psychograph of aesthetic emotion, its ascent and descent so as to produce beauty-thrill, is pointed out in the West also. The stages are Exposition[12], Crisis, Climax and Denouement. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find no such mathematical idea. *In it,* *the art-form is wholly governed by the laws of emotional harmony.* The central emotion is one : it is pathos. All other emotions centre round it. Each emotion, whether erotic, heroic or ludicrous, draws from its centre and contributes something of its own to it. *This dynamic relation of afferent and efferent interaction between the master emotion and other emotions forms an aesthetic constellation.* The theme has got to be woven round this. The act of artistic creation consists just in materializing this constellation.

When does an emotion become artistic ? The answer is : the moment it takes a form. In our ordinary experience, an emotion is a vague psychic storm. It has no form. It tends to suppress every other emotion and fixate on an object whose form it seeks to adopt. But the moment it forms a constellation with an active centre round the laws of harmony, it becomes aesthetic in nature and passes out of the private sphere. Further, an emotion in art is creative. The Krauñca story reveals the way in which an emotion becomes productive of art. So long as the pathetic feeling possessed the Muni, and was felt as his own, poetry could not be produced. But the moment the central emotion organized in a form and was transferred from his self to the theme proper, it became creative. This transfer creates a 'psychological distance' between the creator and emotion. An emotion, however, too near or too far, cannot be appreciated from the standpoint of art. The point at which it becomes creative has been called as 'aesthetic[13] distance.' In brief, *emotion becomes artistic and creative when it has a 'form' and is 'distanced'.*

3. *A brief historiograph*

Man, not as Nature made him, but as he has made of himself by his beliefs and actions, is the source of inspiration for the post-Vālmīki art. Though the chronological order may not be correct, the three classes of art can be distinctly marked. In the Vedic art, the art-atmosphere breathes spiritual and religious air of Nature. Man remains the loveliest and loving child of her. *Its main-quality is rhythm*, and through rhythm the finite communicates with the Infinite, the mortal realises eternity. Vālmīki art is human par excellence. Though rhythmic, its main power is the dynamic harmony of emotion. It makes us feel not divine, but human. We realise the tremendous conflict at the heart of creation. The atmosphere of the post-Vālmīki art is psycho-social. Art-impulse gets a chance of full play because of the widening of theme. Buddhist sculpture and painting mark a further expansion and invention of art-forms, and later Brāhamanism perfects the process of refinement.

As progressively man subordinates Nature, art loses its spiritual rhythm and harmony. But even in the midst of social art, the Vedic and Vālmīki elements emerge and illumine the whole. Art, however, serves now no more the necessary end of life. It is reduced to pastime and recreation. Not presentative of the deep experiences, the later art represents the social complexities. Representation in art increasingly dominates, till it is reduced to its pictorial quality. Further decay is caused by canonization of art-forms and themes. Within the rigid framework of formulas for everything—dance, drama, music and sculpture,—art was frozen to death. Even the barren embellishment was identified with art. Art has been recently revived by the warm breath of the saint-artists, mainly by the call 'back to the past' of the Bengali School.

We sum up below the dominant marks of India's art-genius which became manifest during the vast stretch of time :—

1. India's art, as her Philosophy, is mainly *transcendental*. It is an attempt to realize the Supra-real and to give form to the formless, and to paint the Infinite on a

finite canvas. This mark is so fundamental that every other follows from it as its direct corollary.

2. This is achieved by the Principle of Sonus (Dhvani). *All Indian art is—even the graphic—of the musical or sound-form.* All lines, volumes, colours or any artistic forms, visible or audible, resound with suggestions. The Infinite can only be suggested by the finite. The suggestion emanates as an overtone from the material symbol. All Indian art, therefore, is infused with a 'chant-like' rhythm and inner harmony.

3. *For the reason that Indian art is transcendent, the process of art-creation is also afferent.* Art-form develops from within a state of contemplation illumined by spiritual glow. The material element in art is only a *pointer*,[14] but it is charged with energy so as to create a rhythmic flow of life. *It is ego-centric in*[15] *both creative and appreciative moments*: art-creation embodies the primal rhythm, and, cannot be enjoyed until our small individual being flows back into the vast current of vitality. *Indian art can be enjoyed with closed-eyes—even the visual art.*

4. Indian art, at its best, is anti-representation and anti-portraiture. We cannot find an exact counterpart in Reality outside to an art-form. Indian art-forms,, specially its anatomy, look so peculiar, even ludicrous, to the Western connossieur. Sometimes the 'departures' from the real patterns are intentional so as to wean our minds from referring the art-form to them. Even when patterns are chosen in the graphicarts, they are taken directly from Nature, and not from the blundering imagination of the artist. Even in music and metre the prototypes are natural. These prototypes and patterns are condensed and preserved in her art-traditions and mathematics, which sound so mystic to one unacquainted with India's cultural past. It is to be regretted, however, that this mathematics, intricate and mysterious, abounding in formulas and measurements,

chilled the very current of art-life from wihch it arose.

5. It is dominated by Rasa, and creates emotional rather than mathematical harmony. All evaluation is in terms of Rasas. Bharata, the founder of India's Psycho-aesthetics, points out emotional value of each movement in dance, tone or microtone in music and colour in painting, and their combinations and permutations. Some sculpture and architectural forms refer to Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, the metaphysical realities of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. But these are only three forms of emotional tendencies manifesting the primal matrix and creative energy.

6. *Art is the way to self-perfection through self-activity.* It is predominantly religious, being a way of inward communion. It not only refreshes and revitalizes, but re-creates the soul by uniting it with the infinite vital surge. *Art-creation and appreciation, therefore, bring about an emotional reorganization of life.* Ninety per cent of Indian art is the product of the devotional cults. Her themes are religious and, though old in age, are eternal fountains of delight and, inspiration. These never-old themes take on the artistic forms in sympathy with the voice and vision of the age. India's art-history thus flows down to this day as a continuous stream, which, in spite of the tributaries swelling it with forms and volume, despite so much of fusion and confusion of so many elements, retains this religious character of its parent current. Art in India remains the way of self-growth, emotional self-discipline, in short, a way of worship.

Lest we should be regretting the narrow canvas of the Indian artist, we may note that 'religion' is not the word which conveys the full sense of the above remark. Upāsanā is the right word. Upāsanā of the beautiful is the creed of the artist, and, God as the micro-cosmic and macrocosmic essence, is conceived to be beautiful. Beauty in all forms, human or animal, demonaic or divine, is God Himself.

Creation of beauteous rhythm, therefore, is an act of upāsanā. Upāsanā is the creative emotion leading to the expansion of being and self-fulfilment. It is creative delight (Ānanda) as distinct from the empirical satisfaction. In this sense, the artist's scope becomes as wide and deep as the life itself. Indian art, therefore, has all the vigour and variety of an ever-growing aesthetic impulse.

7. The highest state of art-creation and appreciation is the contemplative self-merger. It is the state of Samādhi, the culminating point in the process of psychic integration. Samādhi is the highly creative state of the mind, when, in the language of Psycho-analysis, the ego returns to the primal rhythm. Only Samādhi is not abnormal. It is not a negative state either. During Samādhi, an emotional rapport is brought about so as to canalize the infinite creative energy into the individual psyche. The first effect of art is the emotionalization of the ego. The dynamic of rhythm which is the essence of dance, music and poetry, works the soul up into the region of super-reality, where it is emancipated from the bondage of individuality. Art, therefore, is the means to mukti, freedom from psycho-organic complexes. This power of self-absorption through art is not achieved without a rigorous self discipline. Hence, art is not to be touched by the profane hand of a debauchee, for it is not the way of auto-eroticism, as taught by the psycho-analysts.

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1943
Allahabad.

II. BEAUTY AS RASA-EMOTION

Beauty as a form of human value must be found as a basic element in human experience. All attempts to derive it as a secondary quality from bio-psychic processes must now cease after the burial of the Atomistic Psychology and Mechanism. Below we detail India's contribution to the understanding of Beauty as a form of emotion. In the interest of systematic study of India's Aesthetic Philosophy, we discuss the esse, form and function of beauty-emotion from the metaphysical, meta-psychologic and psychological points of view.

1. *Metaphysics of Emotion.*

The Vedic seer is convinced to the core that *creation* is not the unfoldment of a plan but fulfilment of a passion. Before the emergence of the rational order, the primal creative state was Death[1]. Death is the form of hunger. It is the undifferentiated and unmanifest matrix of all creation, the self-shining golden egg charged with inner tension. It is the transcendent but creative condition. The human individuality cannot comprehend it, though it underlies as the bedrock, cannot illumine it, though it hovers over it as an encircling halo of delight. From Death starts everything that is, and returns unto it as the shadows of the night begin to fall.

This metaphysical nature of creative emotion determines the very character of Indian Art even to this day. A work of art is the externalization of passion as the entire creation is. The artist repeats in his own way the process of cosmic creation. He is a Kavi as God is. Creation[2], whether cosmic or microcosmic, is governed not by the rational uniformities of Nature, but by the artistic laws of beauty. The universe is to be conceived not *notionally* as the organised sum of intellectual concepts, but *emotionally*[3] as an embodiment of beauty-impulse. The visible Nature in all her lyric or terrible aspects[4] is fulfilling herself in art-joy of creation.

Plato's metaphysics is intellectual with all its emphasis on the supermundane Idea. So he conceives the artist's work as the shadow of shadow, a tertiary reality, hence illusory and condemnable. Aristotle too following the master does not regard the work of art as true creation. To him the creative process in art is imitative reproduction of the universal characters of Nature—nothing more than Mimesis. Greek art and Greek Aesthetics, therefore, do not soar above Representationism. In what is known as the Gandhara Art in India, we can clearly read the Greek influence in the Buddhistic sculptures. The Buddha image is a representation of the archetypal form, rigid and lifeless, as the ideal Greek hero.

In India the metaphysical theory of beauty in art is bound up with a sound metaphysic of emotion. The entire cosmic scheme is the outcome of a creative impulse which is emotional[5] in nature. Indian thinkers lay emphasis on 'order[6].' But this order is not a notional concept. It is an emotional energy; for R̥ta is creative and moves the cycle of creation. It is dynamic and its movement is governed by intense rhythm. In Samādhi state the human psyche overflows with R̥ta and Samādhi is the result of psychic integration and emotional re-ordering. So is art. In the moment of creation, there is an emotional overflow of R̥ta. Art results from the emotionally 'ordered' self, which means when the emotion takes on an aesthetic form. Enjoyment of art also results in emotional re-organization of the self, that is, in the re-creation of R̥ta within the self.

Whether the artist is divine or human, art is always, at the creative or re-creative stage, a divine experience transcending the limits of individuality. It is, therefore, super-moral and super-intellectual illumination of the soul. Art-ecstasy is an, 'oceanic' feeling (ब्रह्म-भावना), resulting from the emotional integration which culminates in the overflow of the microcosm with the cosmic rhythm (Ṛta). Much of the Indian art, therefore, being rhythmic is of musical character, and makes great demands on the connossieur's own spiritual integration. The sensible is the means to awaken the spiritual rhythm in the soul. Beauty, therefore, is this power of awakening the primal rhythm. This is done, negatively, by transcending the individual limits, and, positively, by means of self-affirmation. The sensible elements are not a mere harmonious blending, but they are made to speak the language of suggestive symbols. The Indian Śilpakāra[7] who cuts the idol of a divinity out of a marble rock revives the grand rhythm within his soul by the powers of his inner discipline, and, in the moment of rhythmic overflow, he makes the lines and volumes as the echoing voices from eternity. Beauty as an emotion is the moment of spiritual communion with the Infinite and the Formless.

The Sāṅkhya metaphysic is a huge metaphor[8], but the product of the natural idiom of aesthetic language. Prakṛti is not an idea, but the matrix, the Mother of all charms and creations. It is the other name of enchantment. Puruṣa and Prakṛti are two fructifying tendencies embodied in the masculine and feminine energies. The creation starts from their ecstatic union. Prakrti is the dance-girl, and in her rhythmic creative movements, she presents all the emotional moods and temperaments. She is triguṇamayī, and all colour, tune and space, everything, concrete or abstract, her each aspect or facet presents some rasa for the enjoyment of the Puruṣa. Nature is the cosmic drama, a work of art evolving from within the entire artistic harmony. But the Puruṣa is not the expert connossieur of the cosmic art of nature, for he, driven by the empathic induction of emotion, transfers all to his own self which, in fact, is happening outside on the stage. This causes him sorrowing in the events of nature. The artistic enjoyment of Nature's great drama is no more possible. In the language of Aesthetic Philosophy, the Puruṣa fails to 'distance' the work of art from himself. If the Puruṣa comes to know what is what, and, by creating an aesthetic distance between himself and the work of art, he becomes, as he is in his true self, merely a spectator, the sorrows end and the bondage of individuality torn off. Beauty, according to the Sānkhya Philosophy, is the contemplative state of the Puruṣa, in which Nature in all her colour or sound harmony is presented to him without self-merger. A work of art is beautiful because, and to the extent to which, it induces the original emotional liason between itself and the enjoyer and sustains the contemplation.

2. *Aesthetic Imperative*

The metaphysic of emotion, as outlined above, not only gives true content to 'creation' and 'creativity', but also brings out the nature of Aesthetic Imperative. Emotion being the moving energy behind the evolutionary process, the entire universe becomes transformed into an articulate passion. The conception of a 'rational order' is, in its essence, the conception of unity and uniformity. This is deducible from, or, forms a part of, the Law of Beauty which means ever creative movement towards greater harmony and rhythm. Every aspect of Nature, consciously or unconsciously, obeys this law as a matter of inner necessity. In an ever-expanding process newer aspects emerge to create disharmony. But that is only a passing phase, an inhaling by the cosmic process, which must exhale a new order of emotions. An order of emotions is the 'order of beauty', rhythmic and harmonic movement of the creative process. To this order the process returns, and, any obstacles to its fulfilment are countered by economic or social revolutions[9].

Nature, cosmic or microcosmic, works with a will, which is the 'will-to-beauty'[10] Nature, at the self-conscious stage, seeks to establish the emotional order in its psycho-social sphere. The entire economic and political structure of the society, raised on the basic concepts of justice and equity and the dignity of man, is emotional in character. For not Reason but Emotion can give the right clue to the understanding of the meanings of 'justice' and 'equity'. If they are not merely abstract ideas, but convey concrete significance, their only intelligible meaning can be rhythmic harmonious movement of life, which is the other name of beauty in its dynamic sense. The will-to-beauty thus fulfils itself in creation of harmonious order. In human arts, the artist creates rhythm by the dynamo of the art-material. In beauty-contemplation, with or without self-merger, the emotional flow becomes rhythmic and the whole life attains to a new plane. This is the creative virtue of art-enjoyment.

Emotion of yore could not find a central place either in the anatomy of psychic personality of man or in the cosmic constitution. It was thought to be a kind of blind urge directed by the light of Reason. In Indian metaphysic, Emotion is formative power, the truly creative force. It has the natural form, which is harmonic rhythmic flow, or, in other words, the natural form of emotion is beautiful. Where harmony is disturbed, or, rhythm is not vital, ugliness appears. It is overcome by creation of greater harmony and rhythm. Even the present form of human personality, its complex psychic apparatus or its products, which are the psycho-social institutions, are shaped under the Law of Beauty. The Law asserts itself again and again to restore the balance. This self-affirmation by Emotion is nothing but the Will-to-Beauty.

3. *Aesthetic Hedonism*

(a) The Upaniṣadic seers are the first Indian hedonists. The hedonic metaphor conceived by them is the sky as the cup overbrimming with joy. Ānanda is the very stuff of our soul. But Ānanda is the metaphysical essence. It is concealed behind the sheaths of physical[11] body, vital system, instinctive urges and intellectual acquisitions. Ānanda is in the very centre of our spiritual existence, and, the entire system overflows with its radiating sparks. The soul has to turn inwards to reach it and pierce through the veils which the course of evolution has imposed upon it. The state of beauty-vision is the centripetal movement of emotional life, which the Upaniṣadic seer compares to the rapturous[12] embrace in an erotic experience. Beauty in art is its power to induce this state.

Vālmīki's Aesthetic Philosophy takes its stand on this Upaniṣadic conclusion. Beauty in art is joy which is of the nature of sex-craving smarting under the obstacles which make union difficult and therefore more intensely desired. Mere sex-craving does not lead to art. It becomes creative when it is transformed into Pathos. Vālmīki's hedonic approach to the problem of beauty in art is thus qualified by the element of conflict.

Vātsyāyan's Philosophy of the *Kāma-sūtra* is grossly hedonistic. Real joy is a form of self-forgetfulness in a tremendous flow of energy. It is a tendency to self-merger in a void of nothingness. Priti or Rati is pleasure in action, perception and imagination. This is comparable to the Factum, Function and Fancy pleasures of Modern Psychology.

A natural development of this line of thought is found in King Bhoja's thesis of Śṛṅgāra[13]. To him the main aesthetic feeling is erotic. Śṛṅgāra-Tattva is the essence of artistic experience and every other mode of emotion, as anger, fear or frustration, is only contributory to it. King Bhoja's thesis is monistic, and compares well with that of Kanovitch. According to the latter, when the mechanism of the society has been perfected and the last vestige of injustice removed, the only feeling which will be the source of joy and beauty to man is sex. According to Bhoja also all joy-seeking through creation is art, and all joy-seeking is seeking intense experience through emotionalization of the Ego (रसनियतात्मशक्तेः).

(b) Hedonic Aesthetics reaches its culminating perfection in Rūpa Goswāmī, a scholastic philosopher. He defines and applies all aesthetic terms to the love-frolics of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa, the eternal man and woman. He takes Bhāva[15] to mean as the first dawn of erotic feeling which lends a rosy charm to the body. Hāva is the next stage when the same feeling overflows the body and mind. Last is the mature manifestation when the sex-emotion surges up to give a new grace, hela. In all the three stages, sex emotion is the central core in the various expressions of beauty.

Śobhā[16] is defined as that which lends charms to the elements by means of form and feast and the like. This definition is complete and correct, as it lays emphasis on the formal (Rūpa) and emotional (Bhoga) aspects of beauty. Beauty thus is the residuum which, even though realizable in and through the elements, transcends them. The transcendental phenomenon is Rūpa and Bhoga. Kānti is Śobhā when the same blazes forthwith the flame of erotic fire. In this progression of the beautiful, the elements are further subordinated to emotion, form to feast. In a painting, for instance, where the harmony of colour and form capture the vision and do not release the mind to enjoy the erotic suggestion rising from them, there cannot be said to be the Kāntī form of beauty. The third is the stage of Dīpti[17]. Here the age, place, time, merits, etc., are all used for the full development of the erotic emotion. In a dramatic scene the whole context of the situation may be used to enhance the emotional effect. Or, when in a piece of musical performance, the formal relations are lost sight of, the text drowns the tune—then it may happen, as it does often in the moving sort of songs, that the motif rules, and everything else, even the musical harmony, works up the emotion to the high pitch of absorption. This is the Dīpti form of beauty-experience.

If we draw a psychograph of aesthetic experience, representing both volume and height of emotion, then Dīpti will be the peak point or the climax, and Sobha and Kanti will represent the Exposition and Crisis respectively. The last is Mādhurya[18] or sweetness which is the *Denouement* in the drama of emotion. Rūpa Goswāmī defines Mādhurya as Cārutā or all round beauty. It is the form of equilibrium after the climax. It is, as it were, the life-giving experience of emotional drink when the maddening inebriation has been overcome. It is the persisting sweet flavour after the beauty-feast is over.

Cārutā is a common word for beauty. Its etymology indicates a deep dynamic meaning. It is not proved by the grammatical rules of Panini. It is an Uṇādi[19] word, derived from the root "चर" meaning 'to move' and 'to taste'. That which moves and tastes is cāru. An instinctual joy results from expenditure of energy; but in aesthetic experience, there is vital expansion and upward movement in the psycho-organism for re-orientation and rebuilding of life. Often enough, many troublesome complexes are broken up and knotty problems of life solved and understood in the moment of intense beauty-experience. The word 'cāru' more than any other word, brings out this dynamic implication of the 'beautiful'. Rūpa Goswāmī rightly describes Mādhurya as beauty (cārutā) of actions in all states.

(c) In our times, the poet Tagore has biven a perfection to the logic involved in this line of thought. According to him, beauty in art obeys the logic of Love. It is not for nothing that the beautiful is lovely*.

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*"पंडितेरा वलेन, ये सुन्दर ताहारा मध्ये विषम किछुई नाई; ताहार आपनार मध्ये आपनार परिपूर्ण सामंजस्य; ताहार कोन एकटि अंश अपर एकटि अंशेर सहित विवाद करे ना, जेद करिया अन्य सकल के छाड़ाइया उठे ना; ईर्ष्या वशतः स्वतंत्र

(d) Not satisfied with the intellectual approach to Reality, the Indian seers saw possibilities of sublimated existence through emotional development. They have given us the conception of Bhakti rasa, a state of Eudamonia and spiritual ecstasy which is a tremendously creative condition of the soul. The devotional cults, therefore, are basically artistic, and their object is the worship of the Beautiful. The Beauty is at once divine and spiritual, having no counterpart in physical reality. Viṣṇu, the Beautiful, is the symbol of cosmic rhythm and harmony, and the product of profound aesthetic experience—Rādha and Kṛṣṇa are the human incarnations of the divine couple, Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu. Much of India's art and many of her Bhakti cults centre round them.

The *Bhāgavata*[20] conceives of Bhakti rasa as a state of emotional equipoise and eudemonia resulting from the concentration of the entire instinctual energy and its re-direction towards a higher and rhythmic form of experience. Bhakti-rasa thus involves a rigorous ethical discipline and mental culture. It is not an empirical emotion. It transcends the psycho-physical order, and by purging the mind of its object-seeking conative urges, it initiates a highly charged spiritual condition, which is creative par excellence. The whole of the intellectual apparatus becomes archaic

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हइया मुख बांकाइया थाके ना। ताहार प्रत्येक अंश समग्रेर सुखे सुखी; तांहारा भावे आमरा ये आपनारा सुन्दर से केवल समग्र के सुन्दर तुलिवार जन्य। तांहारा यदि स्वस्वप्रधान हइत, ताहारा यदि सकलेई मनें करित, आर सकलेर चेये आमिएई मस्त लोक हईया उठिव, एक जन आर एक जनके ना मानित, ताहा हइले, ना ताहारा निजे सुन्दर हईत, ना तांहादेर समग्रटि सुन्दर हईया उठित।...अतएव देखा जाइतेछे, **यथार्थ ये सुन्दर से प्रेमेर आदर्श**। से प्रेमेर प्रभावेई सुन्दर हईयाछे, ताहार आद्यन्तमध्य प्रेमेरसूत्रे गाँथा।....इन्द्र धनुर रंगुलि प्रेमेर रंग ताहादेर मध्ये केमन मिल! तांहारा सकलेइ सकलेर जन्य जायगा राखियाछे, केह काहाकेओ दूर करिते चाय ना...गानेर सुरगुलि प्रेमेर सुर, ताहारा सकले मिलिया खेलाइते थाके, ताहारा परस्परके साजाइया देय, ताहारा आपनार संगिनीदेर दूर हइते डाकिया आने। एइ जन्यई सौन्दर्य मनेर मध्ये प्रेम जन्माइया देय, से आपनार प्रेमे अन्यके प्रेमिक करिया तूले, से आपनि सुन्दर हइया अन्य के सुन्दर करे।" रवीन्द्र ग्रन्थावली—आलोचना-सौन्दर्य ओ प्रेम P. ११५३

in its functioning when a new form of self-activity and self-shining processes are set in. The Gita calls this new form the divine vision by which the cosmic aspects are realized, and the mind is raised from the physical to the spiritual realm of beauty-experience.

Is not Bhakti-rasa a negative and regressive 'affectional attachment' or 'cathexis'? An emotion is said to be 'negative' if, frustrated in its natural fulfilment, it seeks a substitute fixation. And it is 'regressive', if the substitute is on a lower psycho-moral plane. Nārada[21] thinks that Bhakti is the pure form of Love. Love is a positive feeling, for it gives the greatest self-fulfilment through the object of love. Love negates the unlovely. Both Nārada and Śāṇḍilya[22] emphasize this negative side. But Madhusūdana brings out the positive nature of Bhakti. All emotions have the power of *liquifying the soul-substance.* In the liquid state, impressions are deepened. Here, the idea seems to be that emotions contribute the rich concreteness to our cognitions which otherwise remain jejune forms. Bhakti is experience of the *liquified soul*, forming an *emotional continuum of divine qualities.* God is bliss Himself, and in the moment of Bhakti emotion the Individual soul merges, as it were, in the ocean of joy. This concentration of the entire emotional energy in the divine contemplation is followed by a new awakening. Bhakti as a process thus becomes the process of emotional integration culminating in the internal balance and rhythm. Madhusūdana lays down ten stages of this process. Even emotions like anger, fear, jealousy, etc., lose their empirical character, and become forms of Rati (bliss) turned as they are towards Infinite Bliss. Another author[23] regards Bhakti-Rasa as contemplative or reiterative Rati, which is spontaneous and free from instinctive urges[24]. It is the pure and pristine form of libido. Its liquification in Bhakti-Rasa leads to a loosening of the sheaths which condition the functioning of the psycho-somatic apparatus. The state of Bhakti emotion thus becomes the fountain of rhythmic delight and mother of many arts.

4. *Metapsychology of Emotion*

From the metaphysical point of view, beauty is the cosmic impulse of Nature moulding every phase of existence to its requirements of rhythm and form. The universe as the work of divine art is an articulate passion. The human creator and critic of art articulate the same passion through the same cosmic process. Prayer or spiritual communion is the way of both art-creation and art-appreciation. Art thus becomes the way of life and its perfection. Much of India's hieratic art conforms to this view.

A rival view now comes up for consideration, which regards art as a negative attitude towards life and its perpetual call for fresh adaptation. This is the view of Psycho-analysis, better called Meta-Psychology. Below we examine its claim and fitness for an adequate explanation of the process of art-creation, and symbolism in art.

Freud * thinks that the meta-psychologic depths hold a major part of the total human psyche. There[25] lives 'Id', a subliminal force, blindly seeking unlimited sex-satisfaction and dashing its monstrous head against the rigid rock of the Reality principle' and the psycho-moral super-ego. The 'Id' is a chaos, a cauldron of seething excitements. Naturally, the id knows no values, no good and no evil, and no morality. The economic or the quantitative factor, which is so closely bound up with the pleasure-principle, dominates all its processes. Instinctual cathexes seeking discharge—that in our view, is all that the id contains.' Thus the very anatomy of the human self places it in an eternally tragic situation, and is the cause of all neurotic symptoms and complex-formations. Art is born in some compulsion-complex. It is auto-eroticism or the 'phallus-coitus play! Symbolism, according to Freud, is the way of the unconscious functioning. Kretschner[26], following him, regards art and mystic experience as 'simply an imaginative translation of erotic wish phantasies into spirituality'. The general conclusion of this line of thought is : "Non est magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae" (Seneca).

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* (1) Covering of the body, which keeps abrest with civilization, Continuously arouses sexual curiosity and serves to supplement the sexual object by uncovering the hidden parts. This can be turned into the artistic ("sublimation") if the interest is turned from the genitals to the form of the body. The tendency to linger at this intermediary sexual aim of the sexually accentuated looking is found to a certain degree in most normals; indeed, it gives them the possibility of directing a certain amount of their libido to a higher artistic aim."

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(2) "I have no doubt that the concept of "beauty" is rooted in the soil of sexual stimulation and signified originally that which is sexually reciting. The more remarkable, therefore, is the fact that the genitals, the sight of which provokes the greatest sexual excitement, can really never be considered "beautiful". *Ibid*, p. 568.

(3) "Only in one field has the omnipotence of thought been retained in our own civilization, namely, in art. In art alone it still happens that man, consumed by wishes, produces something similar gratification of these wishes and this playing, thanks to artistic illusion, calls forth effects as if it were something real. We rightly speak of the magic of art and compare the artist with a magician. But this comparison is perhaps more important than it claims to be. Art, which certainly did not begin as art for arts' sake, originally served tendencies which today have for tke greater part ceased to exist. Among these we suspect various magic intentions." *Totem and Taboo*, p. 871.

Jung's Philosophy of Art is his corollary from the Philosophy of the Unconscious. The Unconscious is the Mother of Libido, of all psycho-somatic energy and its manifestations in civilization and science. Just as in the Freudian system Masochism or the regressive death-seeking instinct is supposed to be an eternal thirst of the psyche, so Jung affirms the Mother-seeking tendency or incest wish as an undying urge of human nature. At bottom the position is the same : Human nature representing the peak of the evolutionary process naturally dreads to ascend further by perpetual attempts to create new forms for inner and outer adjustment. Regression[27] is the return to the original death-state from which life has sprung and evasion of the concrete and vital issue which it must face. This Jung calls introversion or self-incubation. "Through introversion one is fertilized, inspired, regenerated and reborn from God[28]." In this state of 'self-incubation' which Jung identifies with Tapas, the horizon of individuality is crossed and the very springs of the primal rhythm stirred to intense creativity. "That is the secret of effective art. The creative process consists in an unconscious animation of the archetype and in a development and shaping of this image till the work is completed. The shaping of this primordial image is, as it were, a translation into the language of the present which makes it possible for every man to find again the deepest springs of life which otherwise be closed to him[29]."

The process of art-creation is thus the process of discovery by the introverted libido of 'the primordial image' in the depths of the Unconscious. "Recoiling from the unsatisfying present the yearning of the artist reaches out to that primordial image in the Unconscious which is best fitted to compensate the insufficiency and onesidedness of the spirit of the age. The man who speaks with the primordial image speaks with a thousand tongues; he entrances and overpowers, while at the same time he raises the idea he is trying to express above the occasional and the transitory into the sphere of the everlasting[30]. This image is the archetypal symbol of our deepest yearning and therefore 'it provokes unconscious participation' in the common feast of self-fulfilment. But for all that the creative genius in art is infantile and phantastic. According to Thorburn,[31] the creative process is dream-like, and the figures and symbols in a piece of art are made of dream-stuff, vitalized by the wish-phantasies of the artist. The Psycho-pathologists regard art as a product of the hysterogenic mechanism, as a "sort of atavistic manner of reaction, a tendance a la reversion."

Where art is no more than 'escape', the inspiration of art is rightly a pathogenic symptom. There is an escapist art which seeks to give us surrogate satisfaction; but that is to be distinguished from one whose very aim is the perfection of the vital apparatus by intensifying its creative power. Even Psychology has grown to deny the conditioning power of the brain which is regarded as an 'organ of choice' and action and not a directing or centralising agent Its function is to 'canalize' and translate into action our consciousness which is 'virtual action'. There has been a change of outlook in regard to Mental Dynamics, for "we do not go from the perception to the idea, but from the idea to the perception; and the essential process of recognition is not centripetal, but centrifugal[32]" Associative affinities, says Driesh[33], cannot explain mental life which consists in constant enrichment of meaning. This enrichment itself requires a directing and ordering agency. With this orientation of the Mental Science, we feel safe in saying that there can be a life beyond the normal where, as a result of progressive integration of the psycho-cerebral system, the libidinal current becomes creative and the flow more rhythmic.

Artist's is this supernormal existence. Art is born in the meta-psychic experience which is positive and progressive. The main charm of art-creation is not the discovery of the 'primordial image', but revelation of a transcendent plane beyond the empirical. The artist is the yogin, and "art and meditation are creative states of the human mind. The highest form of meditation or perfect absorption, which has no peculiar subject, may be described as a spiritual vacuum in which the universal forces of our soul can manifest themselves[34]." Art seems to emanate from an emptiness of the soul because the empirical should be denied to let in the cosmic current of life. "In order to hear the artist must be silent, in order to see he must close his eyes to the external forms, in order to feel the cosmic rhythm he must arrest his breath and master his heart,—and in order to be carried by the eternal streams he must give up his selfish desires. . . The hidden

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way that leads down to this source is the path of meditation and absorption, and the vessel in which the water of life is brought up to the surface is[35] art." While not denying the conception of escapist, pathogenic art of Psycho-analytic schools, we only affirm that much of India's art is not of this brand, and, that in India art-inspiration mainly draws from the soulful fountain of creative delight, Brahmānand, the infinite bliss.

5. *Bharata Aesthetics*

Bharata was first to 'psychologize' Indian Aesthetics and to build up a system of thought. His approach is inductive and empirical, encyclopedic and analytic. He is the founder of Indian Psycho-aesthetics. He studies psychology and physiology of emotion and concludes that an emotion never occurs singly in the mind. An emotion is the dominant note in a general psycho-somatic reverberation. The first appeal of art is to the senses, and through senses, art aims to awaken an emotional rapport, a rhythmic harmonious flow of inner life. Below we outline his psycho-aesthetic approach to the problem of beauty in art.

Nāṭya is not *a* form of art, but *the* form of art. It is both of the ear[36] and eye, graphic and auditory. It is the complete form of art. Round it cluster and move all other arts like satellites round an orbit. The construction of the stage requires all the beautifying devices of architecture and sculpture. Bharata gives in detail the measurements and forms of suitable stages. Then drama and dramatization involve dance, music, poetry and painting. Bharata therefore, regards the histrionic art as central while other arts as subservient to it.

Nāṭya is miniature representation[37] of the world of human affections, the noble and exemplary aspects of society. The aim is recreation of life through emotional awakening,—the life which undergoes constant wear and tear by its stern demands. The aim is thus partly aesthetic and partly utiliterian. The drama should breathe an air of realism, including all moods and affections of the human mind, its virtuous tendencies and pettiness, but all in such a generalized form that without making personal pricking it turns the spectator towards the future. Drama becomes moralizing through its power of re-orientation of the mind. Bharata lays full emphasis on the realistic character of dramatic art, but his realism is touched with social idealism.

Bharata stresses the depiction side of art. Depiction[38] should be by types, and the types should be natural par excellence. Thus incidentally Bharata is led to discover types[39] of men and women, their gait and gestures under various emotional conditions. His three-type theory-divine[40], human and demoniac,—seems to draw directly from three fundamental realities of the Sāṅkhya Metaphysic, viz., Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Besides these natural types, there are social types also representing every stratum of society, every functionary and the entire rank and file. If the drama is to be the world itself on the stage scale, each type must clearly represent its typical qualities and traits most conspicuously. Bharata examines the fitness of each type for the stage and minutely details the stagecraft.

Bharata, however, cannot be accused of cold realism or flat naturalism as devoid of aesthetic charm. Firstly, he grasps the most prominent and representative traits of a type, which are not distorted from the norm by peculiar circumstances. There is a selection based on the class-essence. Secondly, he stresses on nature, which seldom presents its 'natural kinds' in the purest form. Thus alone his depiction is able to transcend the individual and present the universal aspects of life and society. Thus also the appeal is to the eye as well as to the mind. Bharata is fully aware that the stage world is not the real world, and that he cannot create the reality-illusion on the stage, and, that if he could, what can be the charm in such a factual presentation? And yet the departures cannot go too far without becoming fantastic. Bharata thus is face to face with the difficulty of that view of art which takes its inspiration from outside. He grapples with the difficulty by his distinction of the real (लोकधर्मी) and the dramatic (नाट्यधर्मी); and the true art of drama is the marvellous mingling of both. Abhinava[41], his commentator, defines the first as that which the artist presents in a matter-of-fact way without idealization or adornment from his side. But, he adds, the poet has to take the help of aesthetic imagination to enrich the real with embellishments, emotions and body-movements. Nature even has got to be transcended, Abhinava emphatically concludes, by the creative efforts of the artist.

Dance is the important constituent of drama. Bharata[42] raises two relevant questions which he answers satisfactorily. (1) What is the nature of dance which the experts regard as the giver of all goods (2) What interest does dance serve, which is not connected with the meaning of the song, nor is the conveyer of any meaning at all Bharata replies that dance is to serve no specific purpose, its main raison d'etre being its power of generating beauty. Love of dance is in the very nature of man. It is auspicious and recreative. And it is enough to justify it. His method being analytic, he first enumerates and defines the minimum unit of dance, which he calls Karaṇa. Karaṇa[43] is the harmonious movement of hands and feet. These are one hundred and eight in number. These in a further synthesis combine into body-movements (अंगहार). They are thirty two. The other such harmonious combinations or movements are Cari, Khaṇḍa[44] and Maṇḍala. There is also the trembling movement of certain parts, known as Recaka. The sitting postures are called Piṇḍī. Dance as Nṛtta comes out of these in various pleasing forms in accompaniment of the musical forms. Bharata stresses this wedding of dance and orchestral music, because both of them he regards as capable of producing a vital and moving pure harmoney of form. He lays down as a rule that in the Tandava form of dance only those experts should play on the various instruments who know the musical relation of several constitutive elements in a dance-form, and that the orchestra must follow the rhythmic movement of dance. The same is to be done in the tender forms (सुकुमार) of dances.

Bharata's treatment of Abhinaya is the master-piece of behaviourlogy. All emotional states, moods and mental climates reflect on the sensitive periphery of human body. To suppress them is unhealthy. To express them through proper body-movements is the highest pinnacle of creative arts. The whole drama is grand Abhinaya. Bharata treats with minute details Abhinaya, the expressive form of art-creation, of different parts of the body, the eye, brow, pupil, lips, chin and so on. Thus in an aesthetically pleasing form of dance, the entire body becomes the galvanic centre of expressive movements creating a perfect and pure form of harmony.

This brings us nearest to Bharata's conception of aesthetic quality in a creative art. Beauty is expression (Abhinaya). The human body is the fittest vehicle of expression, because this can become tremendously expressive through various limbs, voice, dress and moods, and, can satisfy most completely our aesthetic sensibility for form, colour, proportion, mass and movement in a single stroke. Abhinaya thus is the most powerful articulation of the entire human form. It is the whole body speaking in a thousand tongues appealing to the eye and ear, and, through them to the entire man by creating a dynamic harmony, both formal and emotional. This point is important, for it is the differentia between Bharata's and the Western aesthetics of dance, and of music. Dance as creative of formal and emotional harmony has both the form and the theme. An emotion cannot be purely and abstractly formal without a clear and complete theme. A form of dance, therefore, producing a total and concrete vital harmony, becomes lyrically touched with a narrative quality, and, even tends to become frankly descriptive in its decadent age. This point is confirmed by the history of Bharata dance in India, which is scattered and applied all over the country to suit all sorts of devotional and social themes. A pure form of dance aiming to produce a mathematical harmony of movements is devoid of any such possibility.

Its intricate grammar aside, Indian music distinctly shows its native character as productive of concrete vital harmony. Purely from the standpoint of form, "the Rāga may be best defined as a melody-mould or the ground plan of a song.[48]" "Indian music is purely a melodic art, devoid of any harmonised accompaniment other than a drone. In modern European art, the meaning of each note of theme is mainly brought out by the notes of the chord which are heard with it; and even in unaccompanied melody, the musician hears an implied harmony.[49]" But apart from this Rāga has a 'definite ethos', and as a marvel of composition there is the measured and remarkably sensitive rise and fall as in an epic. Bharata[50] as the chief exponent of Indian Music connects each microtonal division of the octave and each tonal complex with a definite emotional state. Thus, Rāga not only creates *cerebral music* through awakening of brain vibrations, but also a deeper *emotional music* through mental vibrations. "Indian music is mainly contemplative even in its execution.[51]" It therefore, has a dynamic rhythm. "The climax of the rhythm, the point where the gathering momentum of the song exhausts itself for the time being is only to begin again. *This climax is an integral part of Indian music.*[52]"

As the grammarian of Indian music, Bharata expounds the rules of musical composition. Of aesthetic interest in it is his delineation of a 'musical form'. All the micro-tones (श्रुति) enter into the composition of a Rāga to form an aesthetic whole. "Together, they form a cluster which forms the vital part of the Rāga. This constellation gathers round a dominating note, (Vādi, called the King of notes, e.g., re in Sārang) in the forepart of the octave.... having its counterpart in the subsidiary dominant (Samvādi, what follows the Vādi as minister of the King). The predominance of the regnant note is displayed by oftener recurrence[53]." Thus, a Rāga is the musical whole of concordant notes, having at the sametime an emotional crescendo and cadence.

In fine, we consider Bharata's theory of Rasa which forms an undercurrent of his entire thinking on Aesthetics and his lasting contribution to its subsequent developments. He finds the secret of beauty delight in the permanent and primary dispositions : Our instinctive[54] heritage is transformed into art-experience by means of aesthetic causation. Underlying Rasa emotion, therefore, there is a strong native urge. The onus probandi of such view is : By what means the goal-seeking conative urge is diverted from its natural channel to produce a beauty-thrill, which is essentially non-conative? Alexdander[55] has sought to resolve the mystery of art-creation into a single 'propensity' to construct. Mc-Dougall[56] reduces it to 'curiosity' and 'wonder.' These explanations seem to be inadequate, devoid as they are of any serious attempt to formulate a view of 'aesthetic causation' and response.

A formula, known as 'Rasa Sūtra[57]', contains Bharata's theory of Aesthetic Causation[58], which he himself has fully expanded. Let us take a few of his terms used in the statement of the law.

The first such term is Bhāva[59]. In the context of Art-Philosophy, Bhāva means that which articulates the artistic meanings in the mind suggested by word, sound, movement or emotional expression. Certain chords in the mind and brain have to be awakened to realise beauty, which therefore, becomes an original experience. This way of artistic articulation of the mind is the function of Bhāva. Vibhāva[60] is the aesthetic cause. It is not the physical stimulus. Vibhāva is the artistic meaning charged with suggestive capacity. Thus Vibhāvas, formed into a setting[61], work upon the mind which begins to respond and reverberate to the aesthetic suggestions received from outside. The whole setting of Vibhāvas may have an erotic suggestion; then we experience Śṛngāra-Rasa, and so on. Thus, the responsive human soul worked on by the suggestive artistic meanings (विभाव) is caused to be articulated (भावित). A Vibhāva setting, further, never produces a unilinear effect either on the mind or body. There is a general psycho-organic resonance culminating in the development of Rasa-emotion. The body-resonance is called Anubhāva, and, the mental resonance is known as Vyabhicārī-Bhāva[62]. Thus in a total aesthetic causation of Rasa-emotion, the native urge is awakened by the joint working of Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārī-Bhāva. "Through a harmonious blending and representation of appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicārī-Bhāvas there arises in the audience a certain climax of emotion, invariably accompanied by a thrill and sense of joy, and this is Rasa, or aesthetic pleasure.[63]" This in brief is the modus of aesthetic causation.

In Bharata's Aesthetics, the law of aesthetic causation is sufficient to distinguish art-emotion from empirical and instinctual emotion. Bharata, and, more his commentator[64] Abhinava further, lay down that in a work of art, emotions have formal relations, so that a sort of 'consonantia diversorum' is realized. In the unity of diverse Rasa emotions, the point of denouement (निर्वहण) is important, where the emotion of wonder should predominate. This harmony of form is the crucial factor to transfer the empirical into the artistic quality. Paulhan,[65] an English psychologist, regards aesthetic emotion as resulting from a conscious inhibition of the conative urges or their weak but diffused stimulation so that there is neither an actual feeling nor maturing of the feeling into action. "The performance of a fine but terrible drama will give us pleasure if the tendencies that arise in us are checked sufficiently early to give us merely the impression of their complexity and their systematization; but if we do not inhibit them speedily enough. . . we shall experience a mixture of pleasure and pain that may be converted into actual suffering. . . The aesthetic emotion may be regarded as due to the weak stimulation of a large number of tendencies." Other psychologists also who must base their aesthetic theory on the instincts of man must find a subterfuge to transform the empirical into artistic, such as we find in Bharata and Paulhan.

This question of Psycho-aesthetics is a part of the larger question of Philosophy, namely, the question of transformation of Nature by artistic activity of the mind. The question not only evades any solution but also raises complicated issues if we regard external Nature as the source of art-inspiration, and our instinctive experience as the ground of all art-emotion. A true theory of art has to be necessarily mystical and idealistic, for aesthetic activity has got to be regarded as original and creative activity of the mind. Emotional energy which manifests itself in instinctual functioning and supplies a resistence and stiffening to the 'conative drives' in meeting the situation, performs altogether a different function. In purpose and orientation it is different, and involves psycho-neural mechanisms different from those in the emotional experience of beauty in art. Hence, as a general criticism of Bharata's Psycho-aesthetics, it may be urged that he has confused the role of aesthetic and empirical emotions. An aesthetic emotion is originally different from the instinctual : Beauty-emotion is experienced when, the original psycho-somatic energy (ordinarily funded and canalized in the instincts) is liquified and expanded, and creates internal rhythm and rapport, and thus begets an overwhelming and yet calm sense of self-feeling. To say this is to return to the metaphysical conception of emotion, to which Bharata could not rise, bound as he was by his psychological standpoint. Beauty-emotion is pure and 'platonic', felt when, in Paulhand's phrase, the entire soul-energy is 'inhibited' from goal-seeking and diverted towards self-creation and self-fulfilment.

Bharata's pluralistic Aesthetics had many reactions as it had a legion of supporters. We choose to consider below only two monistic forms. As is natural with Monism, it challenges plurality from the metaphysical point of view, and never rejects the empirical many. So, according to the first, the Supreme[66] self is of the form of light realizable through self-experience. It has, however, a power of individuation by which it realizes itself in the objective empirical world. The self thus has dual existence. From the Supreme Self, under egoistic impulse, start all cognition (ज्ञानप्रभा), emotion (आनन्दप्रभा) and conation (क्रियाप्रभा). By their further combinations, they give rise to Sattva, Rajas and Tamas tendencies. Thus Ego, as the principle of individuation, manifests the light of the Self through the Mind, sense-organs and objects. The self-same Ego, flowing out through the channels of the senses and fixating on the external objects, is transformed into the several Rasa emotions. Śṛngāra emotion, for instance, is produced when the self, under the influence of Sattva and Rajas tendencies, is worked on by an appropriate set of aesthetic causes. It is the same Ego undergoing changes under the change in the nature of aesthetic causation. This school of thought is attributed to the name of Śiva.

Bhavabhūti, the poet-philosopher, seems to be the spiritual descendent of Vālmiki. Rasa, according to him is one, and that is Karuṇa[67] (pathos). There is no place for any other principal emotions in the world where the order of things is so irreversible, apathetic to human affections, and without response to man's deeper sympathies. Other emotions and Rasa experiences rise and fall like waves and bubbles on the surface of water, but the real substratum remains pathetic. Rāma's later life is the fit art-theme. It is the tale of half-realized love. Bhavabhūti seems to work on a hint thrown out by Bharata himself. Equipoise of the mind is the common matrix of all emotions and moods, which emanate from it and in it they are dissolved when causation ceases[68].

Beautiful and Sublime

Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* contain germs of a monistic Aesthetic Philosophy. He does not postulate multiple enduring dispositions which are transformed into Rasa emotions by creative art. There is one and unique Kāma[69] tattva, the primitive sex-energy, infinite and undying. By some inherent necessity, the primal energy bifurcates into male and female tendencies. The entire reality is the manifestation of the primal energy realising itself in the masculine-feminine[70] form of polarity. This bifurcation not only fulfils its biological end, but is also the fountain of beauty-creation. For the two poles of primal energy ever seek to lose their individual identity into unity of one being, impelled by the condition of their original[71] oneness. The climax of joy is reached in that fruitful unity, and even the highest truth realized.

Śṛngāra is the monarch of Rasa emotions. Woman in her full bloom of youth presents the perfect paragon of beauty. She is the eternal spring of all art-inspiration. Music and visual art, dynamic harmony of movement and static harmony of form and colour, the effect of mass and volume, and that of design and pattern, that is, all the prime requirements of all arts, and to crown all, the deepest satisfaction of instinct and spirit at the same time, are met in the body of woman, which glows with the clearest flame of libido. The laws of all the creative arts flow from, and, realise themselves in the feminine frame. Bhartṛhari puts woman in the centre of his Aesthetic Philosophy. This seems to be thesis of his *Śṛṅgāra-Śataka*.

But that is not all. We have not to consume all the fire in us in sex-seeking, and must turn weary to the world of spirit. This turning our back to the biologically and aesthetically the most intense urge involves us in the greatest self-sacrifice. Out of this turning—the grave crisis in poet's life—is born the quality of art we call sublime. But before the state of Sublime is attained, the artist suffers from emotional extremes.[72] The woman begins to appear as the cup of nectar and poison at once. The tragedy of sex-love touches the peak of pathos when, in a Śloka, Bhartṛhari depicts the condition of a traveller, burning with love wishes, to return home at the arrival of rains to see his beloved. "Oh, what boots it to go home if the beloved is not alive (for being dead passion-striken); or, what boots it to go home if she is found alive (for then she has no burning passion for him) : thus disturbed at the sight of new cloudy trails, the traveller decides not to go home at all.[73]"

There is thus the bridge from Śṛṅgāra to Vairāgya. No single English term can exactly and completely render Vairāgya, for our author gives such a rich and varied content to it that many terms severally and collectively convey the total sense. We consider them below.

The *Śataka* on Śṛṅgāra opens with invocation to Kāma, and, very significantly, the *Vairāgya-Śataka* opens with prayer to the deity Kāmāri,[74] the slayer of Kāma. Vairāgya thus is the negative reaction to Kāma. First, there is the sense of frustration, a recoil to the dead past. It is the state of repentance and remorse. By its nature, it is barren and cannot produce art. It can give us at best the art of sighs and sobs.[75]

This negative attitude, however, does not last long. It deepens into quietism. Crying over spilt milk leads us nowhere. There is return of a healthy outlook : what if the intense joys of life have not been enjoyed[76] So much of the religious art of mediaeval India and Europe, with melancholy arches and meditative poses, resounds with a clear quietistic note. This attitude seems to be quite fertile, for the Jain and Buddhist quietism gave such a strong impetus to creative genius in India that the third and fourth centuries saw invention of countless art-forms filled with spiritual vigour.

We must remember that Vairāgya seeks the fulfilment of libido and not its virtual negation, for in it too we create a state of rest, only more subtle and stable. Quietism thus develops into Escapism. Reality binds us to the inexorable laws of space, time and causation. It draws an impassable distinction between things perceived and things created by imagination. Artists, Philosophers and mystics seek, therefore, freedom to create things in imagination which reality denies them. All art and Philosophy in this sense are escapist.

Escapism is one form of Vairāgya. It is the most creative state, when the Ego attains freedom and subdues the reality-principle. Fictions, virile Romanticism[77] of the Russian type, much of music and painting might not have been produced but for the escapist attitude of the creative Ego. Imagination borrows strength to soar to celestial heights from escapism.

These three forms of Vairāgya, viz., Pessimism, Quietism and Escapism, are forms of introversion, with little or no psycho-organic integration. There are two other ways leading to the same goal of self-extinction or nirvana, which require massing and marshalling of entire life-force. The first is to accept the existence of fate, the invisible and inexorable law of life. *One who will accept life must accept its* *law*. Most of the epics of the world, the dramatic art and poetry, heroic and defiant poses in sculptures, cloud-kissing spiral minerets and pillars, the Cross and the battles for chivalry and pride, and, the pyramids and Stupas, brim over with pathos, resulting from an intense sense of struggle against the almighty force of fate.[78]

A higher note of the greatest aesthetic value is the feeling of the Sublime, which means the vision of the infinite fire burning at the heart of the universe, and identification with it. It is the state of eternal calm undisturbed by the catastrophes of life. It is the evershining smile which scoffs at the storms and watches the trains of thundering events with perfect calm. This composure and internal harmony results from the merger of the limited personality[79] into the limitless. It is the consciousness of an identification with super-personality. The *Mahābhārata* rings with distinct note of Sublime, and we reach the noblest conception of it in the character of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

To conclude, Bhartṛhari's Aesthetics regards Śṛṅgāra and Vairāgya as two art-emotions or creative passions. At bottom they are one, as the positive and negative fulfilments of libido. Vairāgya is the way to de-sexualize the libidinal urge. Art-emotion corresponding to Vairāgya is Śama or Śānti in Sanskrit literature. Sama seems to be the right rendering of the word Sublime. Kṛṣṇa's earlier and later life as depicted by Vyāsa in the *Bhāgavata* is the appropriate example of artistic presentation of libido in its sexualized and de-sexualized forms.

8. *Croce and Art-creation*

Bhavabhūti and Bhartṛhari leave us the conclusion that art-activity originates in the emotional reactions of man to his own nature and the nature of Reality. The panorama of life must pass on, unmindful of the eternal thirst for union—this we saw is the mainspring of art in Bhavabhūti. Croce too regards aesthetic as the primary activity of the mind, but its initiation he regards as extra and not from any deeper realization. Croce starts from the Sensuous, and thinks that the sensuous fills out with emotion through intuition. Bhavabhūti starts with a realization which, seeking to concretise itself, fills out with colour and form. Intuition is the first spiritual contact with the sensible world. Sensation being regarded as 'the limiting concept' and not a concrete fact, this first contact begins with image-production. This is the 'first', because soon after it begins the logical-conceptual activity which not only distorts and abstracts the 'first' concrete experience, but also raises questions of truth and falsity.

> "Intuition gives us a knowledge of things in their concretness and individuality.... It is the undifferentiated unity of perception of the real and of the simple image of the possible[80]."

It is 'the whole of our experience' complete and concrete even without the logical processes which start the next moment.

> "That first instant in multiplying and dilating gives place to the life of art. Without the first spark there would not be the great flame. Those who are the artists in the eminent sense have the power to persist longer than other men in the moment of pure sensation or intuition, and have the power of aiding others to persist in it. Artists keep the innocent and attentive look of childhood[81]." (Croce)

The second point of contrast between Bhavabhūti and Croce is in regard to the nature of lyricism. Art to both of them is essentially lyrical. It is an overflow of nature which springs from the fulness of realization, and transforms the experience lyrically by its power of rhythm, according to Bhavabhūti. To Croce 'it is lyrical, for it springs from within and gives expression to what is internal, not external.' But, we must hasten to add, 'what is internal' in Croce is 'pure sensation' or intuition received from outside in the moment of immediate apprehension. We may also note in passing that according to Croce Mind as the concrete creative process is characterised by 'knowing' and 'doing'. Aesthetic activity is the 'immediate form of knowing' which 'apprehends the living palpitating reality'. Logical is the other form of knowing. The two forms of 'doing' are utilitarian and ethical. "In the first moment of its activity all reality is presented as beauty; in the second moment, as truth; in the third moment, as utility; and in the fourth moment as goodness[82]." There is thus no place for a lyrical quality based on emotional rhythm in Croce.

9. *Aesthetic Effect*

Bharata defined the nature of aesthetic causation as the working of Vibhāvas (aesthetic meanings and suggestive symbols), anubhāvas and Vyabhicārībhāvas (the presentation of the body-mind reverberations) so as to produce Rasa or beauty-experience. This definition is common to all forms of artistic presentation. Now, we consider the nature of aesthetic effect as it is produced in the mind of the connoisseur. Aesthetic experience being of the nature of communication through the medium of art and a bipolar process, between the creator and critic, the understanding of cause and effect is of equal value. The artist and the enjoyer are emotionally *en rapport* in the moment of enjoyment.

The common effect of all artistic presentation is the feeling of 'release' from the bondage of individuality, which Psycho-analysis regards as the 'liberation of blocked life.' There is no doubt a dissolution of painful complex formations in the mind and a dawning upon of new light. Indian art-philosophers have regarded art-experience as a feeling of 'self-absorption', not sinking to lower levels of life, but as emergence of higher planes and more integrated order of emotional existence. For art is to the Indians one form of discipline of life.

But each Rasa has its own peculiar effect on the mind. Ānanda and his commentator, Abhinava, have given us a fully developed psycho-aesthetics of the enjoyer's mind. In the enjoyment of erotic and pathetic Rasa emotions there is, Ānanda[83] says, progressive *liquification* of the soul. The human psyche in its day-to-today existence is hardened into a matter-of-fact self and involved in its petty joys and sorrows. In the experience of Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa emotions, the blocked internal springs of joy open up and let a new current of vitality pass into the soul. This experience is characterized as sweetness. In the heroic and terrible types of Rasa-emotions, we feel no 'liquification', but an 'illumination' of the soul[84]. It is a feeling of energy and results from an intensification of life-force. If in the first type of experience we have a feeling of 'repose', in the second we feel 'movement'.

The approach of Indian Aesthetics to 'Laughter' and 'Wonder' as Rasa emotions is functional, and, at once, corrective and comprehensive of some new theories about them. In the first place, the aesthetic quality of laughter and wonder is a common element to other Rasa emotions. Consequently, in them we taste both 'sweetness' and 'energy' as a result of liquification and illumination of the soul respectively. In the second place, there is a feeling of 'expansion' and 'growth'. Thus these Rasa emotions not only lead to the discharge of arrested libido-energy[85], but also advance and integrate it to a higher plane. This positive and dynamic aspect has been overlooked by modern theories of laughter. To Freud*, it is an abnormal expression of the suppressed sex-wish. It is a kind of neurotic joy, only divulging in an abrupt manner the concealed complexes. McDougall[86] regards it as Nature's 'safety vale' for letting out the emotional overcharge of the mind invaded by an induction of primitive sympathy at some sad sight[87]. Bergon's theory of 'Rire'[88] also makes no advance, for to him laughter arises when the mind as the creative surge of life everswelling with constant renewals dashes against mechanism and feels blocked momentarily. By an analysis of all occasions of laughter, he concludes that it arises whenever there is a tendency of elân vital to freeze, to stratify, to repeat, that is, tendency towards the mechanical.

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*K. Fisher—"wit is a playful judgment."

Jean Paul—"Freedom begets wit and wit begets freedom." Wit is nothing but free play of ideas.

These three theories are not wrong, for we do have neurotic, sympathetic or mechanical laughters. Bharata regards laughter as a secondary aesthetic experience emerging from Śṛṅgāra or Eros. The role of comic (assigned to Vidūṣka) is to bring to light the lurking sex-wishes, so that there is no self-deception. When laughter arises from half-comic-half-tragic circumstances, such as deformity, etc., we have several kinds of laughter different on different cultural levels. But these theories are partial and negative[89]. Laughter not only performs a major mental operation on the psychic sores, but also heals them up. Not only heals them up; Laughter in an artistic form, definitely and positively, braces and builds up and marshalls the mental energy for fresh adventures.

10. *The Process of Rasa-enjoyment*

We close up this account by a discussion of the process of Rasa-enjoyment which indicates an important law of aesthetic consciousness. The law[90] is, negatively, that Rasa-enjoyment is neither personal nor impersonal[91], neither true nor false, nor yet illusory. It is, affirmatively, enjoyed as a blissful contemplation by one whose aesthetic sensibility and power of imaginative[92] sympathy bring him *en rapport* with the object of art. *The person in his native purity is psycho-aesthetically fit for beauty-experience.* The person is said to be 'pure' when he has risen above the meum-teum distinction.

Induction of artistic *sympathy* between two living poles, the enjoyer and art, is possible when, their temporal and spatial peculiarity shed off, they stand out in their uniqueness which is their universality. Art, by its powers of universal appeal, reduces us, and calls upon us to reduce ourselves to our *community-essence* or 'pure' nature. This process has been named as 'Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa' in Indian Aesthetics.

The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* quotes also the view of Śaiva Philosophy.[94] The spiritual nature of Jīva, according to it, is characterized by Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā. Rāga is the emotional capacity by which he is rendered capable of enjoying pleasure and pain. Though the world is a mixture of both, yet on account of Rāga, he enjoys it all the same. So also in Art the same Jīva has an attitude of enjoyment. Vidyā is the manifesting power. The world of sensory qualities is presented to us through Vidyā. Kalā[95] is the cause of illumination of beauty-sense in us. It is this which makes the conscious self restless for beauty-experience. Thus the relation of enjoyer and enjoyed issues from the three natural capacities of the Jīva.

Ānanda and Abhinava, two very genial thinkers on Indian Aesthetics, have given their view of aesthetic enjoyment which they call Rasacarvaṇa[96] (रसचर्वण). Abhinava teaches that *art appeals to the whole man*. This view of aesthetic value compares well with Freudian Ethics as interpreted by E.B.[97] Holt. Evil arises when a wish, creating a physiological attitude, causes a conflict with another equally potent attitude. Virtue results when the conflict is resolved at a higher and more inclusive level of nervous integration. Thus, as Virtue is the total reaction of the perfectly integrated psycho-physical organism, so beauty is the complete emotional reaction of the perfectly attuned soul. Further, he tells us that Rasa-enjoyment results from a capacity for self-merger[98] in the object. He also quotes Bharata in support of his veiw, which is that a contemplation of the object which is in emotional harmony with the self causes Rasa-expreience pervading the whole body. This attitude of contemplative self-merger is what transforms a feeling of virtual wretchedness[99] into an enjoyable experience of Pathos. By the same process even a Vibhāva[100], Anubhāva or Vyabhicāribhāva becomes aesthetically enjoyable. This is not at all a process of attenuation or abstraction. On the contrary it perfects an emotion by making it creative. Abhinava[101] emphatically concludes that this process of Rasacarvaṇa is nothing like perceptual, inferential, scriptural, or mystic or revelational type of knowledge. Different from these, yet it is a positive experience of enjoyment. It becomes extra-ordinary as it is caused by aesthetic meanings of things (Vibhāva) intensified by emotional harmony (हृदयसंवाद).

(*To be Continued*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

NĀNĀRTHA-RATNAMĀLĀ of Irugappa Daṇḍādhinātha critically edited by Bellikoth Rāmachandra Śharma, Professor, Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit learning, Darbhanga, pp. 6, 141, 139, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1954. Price Rs. 15.

KOŚAKALPATARU of Viśvanātha, edited by M. M. Patkar and K. V. Krishnamurthy Sarma. Deccan, College, Sanskrit Dictionary Department, pp. 6, 315, Fascicule 1, Poona, 1957. Price Rs. 20.

We are very happy that the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Department has been given the compiling and editing of the New Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles, on the lines of the great Oxford Dictionary. As a preliminary step of the survey of the materials, the above two works on Lexicography have been published; and we warmly commend the same to the study of all critical scholars.

The first work is a lexicon of homonyms written by Irugappa the Daṇḍādhinātha—the Minister of Law or Chief Justice in the court of Harihara II of the Vijayanagar Empire who reigned between 1379—1406 A. D. The author therefore must have lived somewhere between 1350—1425 A.D. The text consisting of 2641 lines is printed in 141 pages; and this is followed by an alphabetical list of the words with explanatory meaning in English.

The second work is the first portion of the *Kośakalpataru* and contains 7459 lines. This lexicon one of the biggest of its kind and containing more than 5000 verses is the work of Viśvanātha whose patron was King Jagatsimha of Udaipur (Mewar) of the 17th century A.D.

It is noted by the Editor that there are manuscripts of the work in the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍār at Udaipur and that they could not be procured for utilization of the present edition. This reflects the present difficult condition of the editing of new works from manuscripts. In this connection we would invite the attention of the Government to their onerous duty of arranging for making at least photostat copies available to scholars in these days of such advanced and scientific printing in case the manuscript owners do not like to part with their Mss. While the Dictionary is in the stage of compilation we would give the following for the consideration of the Government. The materials collected should be submitted to various scholars for their critical study and for their suggestions as to additions, etc. All the compilation connected with these should be submitted to them. Sufficient time should be given for their remarks as also a decent remuneration for the portion of the allotted work. With such co-operation alone, the Government would be doing its duty towards this great task. No useful purpose would be served by pointing the omissions and necessary corrections after the Dictionary is published; for, *inter alia* a second corrected edition may not be had within half a century. Again, a meeting of scholars say once in two years preferably at Poona itself, for a discussion of the collected matter should also be effected; costly though it would be, it is necessary to point out that there is no other way of assessing the vast material collected and to be collected. If these steps are taken, the Dictionary would be the joint product of all the scholars in India. The Deccan College also should welcome this work as from colleagues. In this way alone could we really produce a Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles on the lines of the English Oxford Dictionary and worthy of the great name of India.

—A. S. Nataraj Ayyar

TARAPOREWALA MEMORIAL VOLUME, published by the Deccan College Research Institute, 1958, pp. x, 390.

This sumptuous memorial volume consists of 43 essays by the friends and admirers of the late Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala who was one of the best linguists of India well-versed in English, Sanskrit, Avesta, French and German—all of which he taught as professor. He had the distinction of being the first Professor of comparative Philology at the University of Calcutta and the first president of the Linguistic Society of India. He had several works to his credit on Avesta and Philology. His '*Elements of the Science of Language*' (Second edition 1951) is a favourite with students of Comparative Philology.

The articles in the volume are on various topics of Indology and especially of Philology and are of uniformly high quality and would be welcomed by scholars. For instance, the article on " कप्यासं पुण्डरीकम्" by J- A. B. Von Buitenen sets at rest the long controversy which had been raging over the meaning of this veritable apple-of-discord passage in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* I. 6. 6-7 and acquits Śaṅkara of giving any sinister meaning to the passage as it is clearly shown that he is only quoting the meaning of the Vṛttikāra before him.

LE TATTVABINDU de Vācaspati Miśra, Edition critique, Traduction et Introduction Par Madeleine Biardeau. Institut Francais D' Indologie Pondichery, 1956, pages 6, xxx, 60, 32.

This is a critical edition of the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspati Miśra I by the French lady scholar of the Institute of Indology at Pondichery. The previous editions of the work in the *Paṇḍita* and of V. A. Ramaswami Śastri have been used together with two new manuscripts—one from the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona and the other being the Manuscript belonging to the personal collection of Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra, the Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

The result is an excellent text in Devanāgarī script (with variant readings) in 32 pages together with a translation in French in 60 pages with an introduction in English and French in 30 pages.

The *Tattvabindu* deals with the problem of verbal knowledge "in quite original ways which remain strange to the West" (Foreword p. xvi). And we congratulate the young lady Research Scholar for having successfully introduced the Sanskrit philosophical text to the French readers.

TRIṢAṢṬIŚALĀKĀ PURUṢACARITA by Acharya Śri Hemacandra, Vol. IV, Books VI & VII. Translated into English by Helen M. Johnson, Gaekwad's Oriental Series *No.* C xxv, pages xxxi and 409. Price Rs. 35, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

This work is a translation into English of the life of eleven Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jainas. All the biographies contain sermons invaluable for the comprehension of Jainism. The major portion of the volume under review deals with the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*.

An outstanding feature of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* is that, though later than the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, the Jainas have adapted the *Vālmīki* and have created a story, mythology and morals of their own. There are two schools of *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* represented by Vimalasūri and Guṇabhadrasūri; and there are works of each of the schools in Prakrit and Sanskrit and also in the Kannada literature of the south. The Jaina variations teach Jainism and have practically nothing to do with the ideals as set forth by Vālmīki.

An acute critic of Kannada literature admits that these Jaina variations and the following of the same by Kannada poets resulted in writers who cannot equal KAMBAR in Tamil or TULSI DAS in Hindi who are the creations of Bhakti. The *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* however, form an important branch of study in the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

NAYADYUMAṆIḤ by Meghanādārisūri critically edited by Pandits V. Krishnamacharya and T. Viraraghavacharya, *No*. CXLI of the Madras Government Oriental Series, pages clix and 284. Price Rs. 9-12-0.

We congratulate T. Chandrasekharan, Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madars for being instrumental in getting the work included in the series. We equally commend the two editors who have written the English and Sanskrit introduction respectively in 30 and 110 pages.

The author of the work is believed to have lived in the 13th century after Rāmānuja (1017—1137 A.D.) and the present work is an independent treatise on the Viśiṣtādvaita school of Vedānta philosophy. The peculiar characteristic of this school is that Sanskrit works, like the *Pañcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa Āgamas* and the Tamil poems of the Aḷvars, are held authoritative. Another special feature is the fact that philosophy is believed as religion by the general elite and supported as such by the best intellectuals of the school.

The work in 12 sections is in Sanskrit of the ordinary philosophical styles. This is important in tracing the history of Vaiṣṇavism in South India in the 13th century and in noting the differences in the views of its two subschools the Tenkalais and the Vadagalais. For instance, the rank and place of Lakṣmī the consort of Nārāyaṇa has given rise to acute polemic literature.

We recommend the work for the earnest student of the history of Indian Philosophy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY by Professor Jitendra Nath Banerji, pp. xxxvii, and 653 with 48 plates, University of Calcutta, 1956. Price Rs. 30.

This is the revised and enlarged edition of the author who is the Carmichael Professor and head of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta and this work is published as the University publication. The author is a recognized authority on the subject and this work of the savant (nearly double the size of the first edition of 1941) would for a long time remain as the standard work of reference by students and scholars in all matters relating to the development of Hindu Iconography. It is impossible to do justice in a short review to the matter compressed in this work.

The history and origin and development of the different Brahminical Hindu cults is given in broad outlines; and brief accounts of the different cults is also given so that the groups of images illustrating them in an esoteric manner may be properly understood. The 12 chapters of the work deal with the study of Hindu Iconography, the antiquity of image-worship in India, the origin and development of image-worship in India, Brahminical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins, Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals, Icono-plastic art in India, Iconographic terminology, Canons of Iconometry, Cult Icons—Vyantara Devatās, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, Śiva and Śakti, Miscellaneous and syncretistic icons. The drawings and plates are all exceptionally well got-up.

The matter dealt with is of the utmost importance to the students of history and culture of ancient India as without it a correct and comprehensive view of the images of deities actually worshipped by the Hindus could not be obtained. And on this the nature of the religion actually believed and practised by the people at large has to be ascertained.

The work under review would from the basis of all further research and as noticed by the author in his present preface it requires a band of earnest workers in the field to devote their energy and scholarship to the general as well as regional studies of this fascinating branch of Indology in order that many facts of the composite culture of India may be correctly interpreted.

Another special feature in the development of icons is the inter-action of law and philosophy on this branch of study. Śaṅkara, the reputed defender of the Nīrguṇa Brahman combats Śabara the Mīmāṁsā Bhāṣyakāra and offers philosophical and religious proofs for the existence of the Devatā in his *Devatā-adhikaraṇa* of this *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*. Law also develops; and complete juristic personality is recognised in the Idol and all endowments belong to it.

The few extracts printed in the appendices from the Sanskrit works dealing with icons only whet our appetite for the special study of these works.

We warmly recommend this work to all who want to get correct ideas about Hindu Icons.

RĀMABHAKTI MEN RASIKA SAMPRADĀYA by Dr. Bhagawati Prasad Singh, M.A., Ph. D., Principal D. A. V. College, Balrampur, Published by the Awadha Sāhitya Mandir, Balrampur, pp. 25+627. Price Rs. 15/-, 2014 v.s.

Recently studies in Rasas and Bhakti have been taken up by learned individuals and scholars. A heartening feature of these studies is that they are being published in Hindi. We have earlier had a book by Sṛi Bhuwaneshwar Nath Mishra, "Mādhav". The present work is another

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welcome addition to the Hindi literature and is almost unique in as much as it is for the first time that a study has been taken up on these lines.

The book is invaluable in many respects especially because of the scholarly introduction of the greatest living authority on Bhakti Philosophy Mm. Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja who has traced the history of Bhakti-Sādhanā in his introduction.

The book is divided into six chapters and has a detailed contents and two indices. Chapter I deals with the published and unpublished works of *Rasika-Sampradāya*. The second chapter is devoted to the study of Rāmabhakti. In so doing the author has discussed the Rāma Saga in detail and has touched almost all the material available. He has done justice to both the sources—Literary and archaeological. Chapter third deals with the development in the nineteenth century. It also deals with the three centres of Rāma-lore—Ayodhyā, Citrakūṭa and Mithilā. It also has a discussion about Sādhanā including the Pañcasaṁskāra and the Pañcārtha upadeśa. This chapter is the notable contribution of the writer.

The fourth chapter takes into account the traditions and the Sampradāyas of Rāmabhakti still prevalent in India. The fifths chapter deals with the literature on Rasika-Sampradāya. While the author has no doubt drawn upon the printed and unpublished sources, yet it must be said that his description has been confined to Hindi literature especially. The Rāma literature available in other languages has not been dealt with. A large number of sphuṭa songs and poems are available near and about Janakpur in Maithilī and if these are collected and utilised much more information can be had about the Sampradāya. The last chapter is the conclusion.

The author has not attempted anywhere any comparative study of Rasika-Sampradāyas which some would think was necessary in view of the popular belief that Rāmabhakti is not full of the Rasa element. That this conception existed in medieaval period is known from the following suggestion of Vidyāpati in his little known *Kīrtipatāka*, etc.

"रामेण रामजन्मनि सीताविरहदावानलदग्धमानसेन तत्खेदापनोदाय कृष्णावतारेण गोपकुमारेण...सुन्दरीवृन्दसहस्रसाहित्यसमुपजातकौतुकेन... कदाचित् खण्डितायाः मण्डलानि गृहीत्वा सुमहाभागः खेदितः प्रेरितश्च...।

Anyhow the author deserves our praise for bringing to light certain unpublished works, and the lucid exposition of this Rasabhāvanā in the Rāmabhaktas. I recommend this work to all scholars interested in ancient culture of India and congratulate the author for having written such an interesting and scholarly work on a forgotten section of our culture.

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THE CALL OF THE JAGADGURU.—Teachings of His Holiness Śrī Jagadguru Chandrasekhara Bharati Swamigal of Śṛṅgerī by R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., B. L. with a foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pages xvi—188. Price Rs. 4. Ganesh & Co. Ltd. Madras 17.

Among the Maṭhas, founded by the Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, Śṛṅgerī, in the Mysore State, occupies an honoured place. Śrī Candraśekhara Bhāratī occupied the *gaddī* of Jagadguru Śaṅkara from 1912 to 1954. He was considered as a saint and often went to Samādhi state. While on his tour in South India he gave valuable addresses in its various languages. They have been collected and arranged by R. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, a devoted disciple and have been translated into English for the benefit of English-knowing readers. Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar states in his foreword that the late Jagadguru was a man both of profound learning and of unsullied and lofty character. He was truly evolved Being and an authentic Seer who lived and taught always in sight of his Master.

We recommend the analysis of the teachings in 14 chapters and 63 sections, for the modern student as the best general introduction to Indian philosophy.

At the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha, Śaṅkara's *Viveka-Cūḍāmaṇi* is taught to the lay and sannyāsī disciples both from the point of view of learning the Sanskrit language and imbibing practical Advaita philosophy. The Jagadguru has written an original commentary on the *Viveka-Cūḍāmaṇi* which has just been published in 1958. The review of this work will appear in the next issue of our Journal.

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Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
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